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ABSTRACT

Designed to provide an orientation in and foster sensitivity to the field of educational politics as it has evolved during the past decade, this monograph reviews, synthesizes, and evaluates selected literature in the field, and integrates theoretical analysis and empirical evidence. Three themes recur throughout the monograph--that there is a dynamic relationship between educational politics and societal change, that political culture is a powerful determinant of the style and structure of educational politics, and that professional and employee interests dominate in the governance of education. The first part of the monograph addresses conceptual and methodological approaches to the study of educational politics. The authors then examine the main arenas and salient issues in educational politics. Local, urban, State, and Federal educational politics are discussed in subsequent chapters. The monograph concludes with a summary chapter that suggests implications and directions for future research in the field. An extensive bibliography is included. (Author/JF)

The Politics of Education

Laurence Iannaccone
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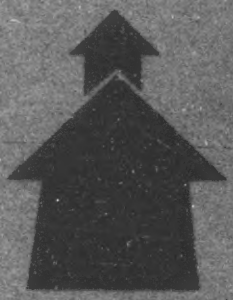

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Laurence Iannaccone
Peter J. Cistone

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Foreword

Education has become increasingly connected with the world of politics. Especially in the major cities, concern—and disagreement—over control of schools and allocation of resources have made education a volatile political issue. It is not surprising, then, that during the last decade scholars have shown increased interest in the politics of education as a field of study.

To assess the emerging body of literature in this field, the Clearinghouse commissioned two scholars who have been closely involved in the study of educational politics as both participants and observers.

Dr. Iannaccone is a professor of administration in the Graduate School of Administration and a professor of education in the Graduate School of Education at the University of California at Riverside. He has extensive experience as a consultant and policy analyst in educational governance, finance, and related areas. Recently he has served as a member of the National Institute of Education Task Force on Governance and Organization.

Among his publications are two books, *Politics in Education* and *Politics, Power and Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts*, the latter co-authored with Frank W. Lutz. He holds bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Buffalo and a doctor's degree from Teachers College, Columbia University.

Dr. Cistone is an associate professor of educational administration at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. An

experienced researcher, consultant, and author, he has specialized in the politics of education and educational governance among other areas. He is editor-in-chief of *Educational Administration Abstracts* and recently began a three-year term as a member of the Executive Committee of the University Council for Educational Administration.

His publications include "The Politics of Education: Some Main Themes and Issues," which appeared as a chapter in *School Boards and the Political Fact*, a volume he also edited. His article entitled "School Board Member Recruitment: The Case of Ontario" is scheduled to appear in the *Journal of Educational Administration*.

Dr. Cistone received a bachelor's degree from Muhlenberg College, a master's degree from Lehigh University, and a doctor's degree from Pennsylvania State University.

PHILIP K. PIELE
Director

1

Introduction

The publication of a monograph on the state-of-the-knowledge in the politics of education would have been highly unlikely ten years ago. While politics and education have long histories as separate fields of study, the politics of education—or educational politics—has only recently achieved a state of self-identity. Although its domain is still largely unsettled, the time is right for assessing the field's emerging body of knowledge, maturing methodology, and expanding empirical base. The past, present, and future development of educational politics must be evaluated within the context of ever-broadening theoretical perspectives.

Purpose and Scope

It is the purpose of this monograph to provide an orientation and to foster sensitivity to this field as it has evolved during the past decade or so. The monograph attempts to review, synthesize, and evaluate selected literature in the field, integrating theoretical analysis and empirical evidence.

Contributions from several traditions and schools of inquiry are incorporated in the monograph. Primarily, however, a natural-system (or open-system) approach is adopted to understand and describe the kinds of

phenomena in the politics of education. Implicit in this strategy are two assumptions: one, that the educational organization is a complex set of interdependent elements that contribute to and receive contributions from the internal system; and, two, that the educational organization engages in vital exchanges with its environment and is interdependent with it. Given this approach, doubtless many sources, topics, and issues have been omitted that might have been included had another organizing strategy been employed. While much care has been taken in the selection of subject matter for this monograph, it is believed that the synthesis of the contents developed herein is neither time- nor space-bound.

Three themes recur throughout the monograph. One is that there is a dynamic relationship between educational politics and societal change. The second is that political culture is a powerful determinant of the style and structure of educational politics. A final theme is the dominance of professional and employee interests in the governance of education.

In the remainder of this chapter, three areas will be reviewed: the backgrounds of the fields of education and of politics as they relate to the interdisciplinary field of educational politics, the appearance of the politics of education as an autonomous field of inquiry, and the simultaneous development of interest in the processes of policy formation.

Chapter 2 addresses conceptual and methodological approaches to the study of educational politics. The third chapter examines the main arenas and salient issues in the politics of education. Local, urban, state, and federal educational politics are discussed in subsequent chapters. Concluding the monograph is a summary chapter, which also suggests implications and directions for future research in the field.

Legacies of the Parent Fields

It is fair to say that the development of the field of educational politics has been retarded by practical and normative problems in the established disciplines of both political science and education. Recurring definitional debates and epistemological and methodological disputes within each discipline have impeded the construction of a comprehensive theory and the instrumental application of new knowledge in the field of educational politics.

Contemporary political science has been undergoing an attempt at redefinition and redirection. A central issue is whether political science should become a theory-building science or an applied discipline (Truman 1965). In tracing the historical development of political science, Truman characterized the discipline that emerged about the turn of the century as part of a revolt against "an older tradition of perceptive and scholastic formalism." In turn, this "new realism" adopted an equally confining orientation to empiricism and concrete description.

Prior to the dissolution of the spirit of consensus that marked the discipline in the years before World War II, the study of political science displayed a lack of concern for the political system as such, indifference to political change and development, and disinterest in theory. The years since 1945 have been depicted by Truman as a period of restlessness:

> Given the looseness and especially the lack of precision in the prevailing implicit agreement on what to do and how to proceed in the field, its weakening and gradual dissolution were bound to be followed by a confusion of competing and divergent, if not incompatible, views of the appropriate questions to be asked and the proper methods to be used.

Just as political science at the turn of the century was part of a revolt against "an older tradition of perceptive and scholastic formalism," the administration of American public education was influenced by powerful social and cultural currents in the early decades of the century. The protagonists of the Progressive Movement attempted to formulate a new social ethic and political philosophy that was at once moral in tone and romantic in perspective. Although the municipal reform movement was changeable in nature, it was based on the normative proposition of the separability of politics and administration and was directed at the purification of the political process and the implementation of new political structures and administrative forms to ensure a more efficient and effective operation of democracy.

In his analysis of the major values that have influenced thinking on public administration, Kaufman (1956) identified three values—representativeness, neutral competence, and executive leadership.

> Each of these values . . . has been dominant (but not to the point of total suppression of the others) in different periods of our history; the shift from one to another generally appears to have occurred as a consequence of the difficulties encountered in the period preceding the change.

The earliest stress had its roots in the colonial period and was placed on representativeness in government. Neutral competence and executive leadership are of more recent vintage; the former reached its zenith at the beginning of the twentieth century and the latter after World War I. It is noteworthy that recent evidence points to a resurgence in the quest for representativeness, especially in educational decision-making.

The core value of the the neutral competence premise was the maximization of administrative efficiency through professional, expert application of the principles and methods of "scientific management." Ironically, while the reform movement was attacking the adverse effects of industrial capitalism on the quality of life, it was in turn proposing the universal application of business methods as the antidote. In education, the search for neutral competence brought professional schoolmen to an uncritical acceptance of a busi-

ness-managerial concept of administration that idealized efficiency as an end in itself. The potent impact of this "cult of efficiency" has been documented by Callahan (1962) in his now classic work.

Overlapping the emphasis on neutral competence was the quest for executive leadership. As Kaufman observed, much of the standard literature in public administration was written during this period and embraced both values at once. The basic logic of executive leadership dictated that integration fosters responsibility and that administrative efficiency is maximized when control is concentrated in the hands of a strong executive who has broad discretionary powers. Advocates of this position assumed that the pursuit of the public good was a technical rather than a political concern; the same ideological stance was taken by professional schoolmen (Callahan 1962, Callahan and Button 1964, and Callahan 1967).

When extensive public criticism began to be directed at the schools, administrators accused of mismanagement countered with the claim that they—the professionally trained experts—needed to have wide decisional latitude to operate schools efficiently and economically. As a result of unyielding forces and circumstances, the idea of educational decision-making by "expert agents" was nurtured, gradually evolving into a body of doctrine that served to enhance the autonomy and self-direction of the educational bureaucracy. Several decades later, Martin (1962) commented on the apparent physical and philosophical isolation of public education and the dominant power and influence of the professional bureaucracy that had driven education toward being a "monolith under oligarchic control."

The discipline of education that emerged out of the "cult of efficiency" era was deeply marked by a destructive anti-intellectual bias. Although educators assumed the mantle of science to legitimate their professional status, their understanding of science and research did not extend beyond naked empirical description. Their dominant commitment to efficiency and to the attainment of immediate practical utility tended to cover reflective and theoretical inquiry. Writing in 1929, Dewey cautioned educators that it is "very easy for science to be regarded as a guarantee that goes with the sale of goods rather than as a light to the eyes and a lamp to the feet. It is prized for its prestige value rather than as an organ of personal illumination and liberation." Dewey asserted that there could be no intellectually sound "science of education" apart from the material drawn from other sciences, which in turn "furnishes the content of education when it is focused on the problems that arise in education." The failure to perceive that education had no intrinsic content gave rise to the segregation of research that tended to render it futile. And, perhaps more importantly, conceptual and theoretical development became as peripheral to the field of education as to political science during the same period.

The net effect of these social, cultural, and intellectual influences was the conceptualization of the school as a closed social system.* The formation of this concept not only conditioned the nature of educational politics but fixed the direction of traditional educational research as well. The closed-system logic tended to focus educational research on the internal functioning of the school system—on efficiency and performance—without appropriate consideration of the input-output-feedback functioning of the school system in relation to its environment. Confined by a limiting institutional-legalistic perspective, educational researchers viewed the school atomistically in its own terms.

Assessing the conceptual map of educational research, Tyler (1965) inferred that subjects, learners, teaching methods, and teachers were the major features of that map for some forty years prior to his analysis. Thus, two kinds of investigations were commonly conducted: studies evaluating administrative policies and arrangements in terms of pupil performance, and studies comparing structures and policies among school systems. Preoccupation with structural statistics and the nondynamic particulars of organization explains at least in part the surfeit of descriptive and nonanalytical research generated on such topics as administrative organization, school law, and school finance. There was a conspicuous lack of focus on political phenomena and the behavior of political actors in educational decision-making. The conceptual map of educational research was not to feature a concept of educational politics until much later in the century.

Emergence of Educational Politics

It would be futile to attempt to pinpoint a precise time when the politics of education achieved a state of self-consciousness. Its recent emergence and rapid growth should not obscure the fact that its development was largely the result of a cumulative process in the last decade, a changing balance of old values and new realities shaping the study of educational politics.

Recent literature on organizations (Emery and Trist 1965, Thompson 1967, Aiken and Hage 1968, Terreberry 1968, and Randall 1973) suggests

* In his seminal work, Iannaccone (1967) suggested that the general systems approach provides a useful framework for understanding the politics of education. He characterized the social system attributes of public education as typifying a "closed system"—static homeostasis, boundary building and boundary maintaining, and a tendency toward reduction of exchanges with the environment. Hence, he concluded that contemporary educational politics typifies "closed system" politics, that is, the "politics preferred by pedagogues," the politics practiced by the "priesteraft" within "the privileged sanctuary of its private preserves." This style of politics has served to insulate the educational enterprise from the field of forces in its environment, thereby minimizing its dependence on environmental constraints and contingencies.

that as the environments of formal organizations evolve toward "turbulent-field conditions," organizations become less insular and autonomous. The school is a case in point (Gittell and others 1967, Crain 1968, Cunningham and Nystrand 1969, and Levin 1970). The traditional closed-system nature of educational politics notwithstanding, strong social and political forces in contemporary life, much too complex and elusive for analysis here, have successively undermined the twin doctrines of isolation and autonomy in educational governance. Intense controversies over such issues as racial segregation, equal educational opportunity, federal involvement in education, and public aid to nonpublic schools have been sustained for some time.

Recently, the crescendo of criticism stemming from negative assessments of public school performance and the shifting distribution of power and resources in the political system have been accompanied by a basic thrust toward more public participation in school management. Mounting demands for the optimal allocation and use of limited societal resources among alternative public programs have accentuated the accountability and vulnerability of the educational enterprise. As Tyler (1965) stressed, the school as a *social* institution has now become a relevant part of the conceptual map of educational research.

The cumulative effect of environmental forces not only rendered indefensible the supposed isolation of the school but also stimulated the interaction of social scientists and educationists. For instance, the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA), supported by the Kellogg Foundation, created university centers that encouraged rapprochement of educationists and social scientists in the study of school administration. Concepts and modes of inquiry from the social sciences revealed the mutual permeation of the school and its social environment and sharpened awareness of the dynamic aspects in the processes of educational policy formation and implementation.

Augmenting the initial cadre of psychologists and sociologists studying school administration in the early 1960s were economists and political scientists. Evidence of their growing involvement is indicated in the Syracuse monograph series on the economics and politics of public education, published in 1962 and 1963. Of the twelve, six were done by political scientists, five by economists, and one by a sociologist. The influence of political science is particularly apparent in *The Politics of Education in the Local Community* (Cahill and Hencley 1964). The volume is a collection of papers from a seminar at which twelve social science scholars considered the kinds of social inquiry and research on educational decision-making that might yield the most promising results in the study of local school politics. The participants concluded that the status of research in the politics of education was found "wanting in certain crucial respects" and that "future research

must move in basically new directions if progress is to be made."

As Truman (1965) had anticipated, in the intervening years there has been a gradual emergence of a consensus in political science, based on a revived interest in the political system, a renewed emphasis on theory, and a recommitment to the scientific method. The redirection of political science and the ripening sophistication of educational research have benefited the study of educational politics in highlighting the integrity of theory and empirical investigation in analyses of the policy process in education.

Study of Policy-Making

The appearance of educational politics has parallelled the accelerating study of the processes of policy formation that has emerged from the social science disciplines. In itself, the study of policy formation is not a novel idea (Bauer 1968): for centuries political philosophers have pondered the social and intellectual processes of setting and implementing policy. However, in this century and especially since World War I, the social sciences have become "aware of the policy process as a suitable object of study in its own right, primarily in the hope of improving the rationality of the flow of decision" (Laswell 1951).

The immediate practicability and social relevance of the policy science approach has been accentuated in recent years as public policy-makers have been confronted with the problem of allocating increasingly scarce resources within the social context of sharply conflicting values and demands. Emerging out of the involvement of social scientists with these issues of choice behavior is a shared orientation in contemporary analyses of policy-making problems. In her assessment of the state of the art in policy studies, Schoettle (1968) describes that orientation as a dual emphasis on the individual policy-maker engaged in the policy-making process and on the systematic properties of the process itself. The common concern is with providing "a basis for improving rational, efficient methods of policy formulation in order to maximize the outputs of public policy in accordance with the values of democratic society."

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Conceptual and Methodological Approaches

Until recently, neither political science nor education were primarily interested in the development of theory or the advancement of distinctive research methods. The lack of concern for theory and inattentiveness to methodological issues have had a predictable consequence for the study of educational politics.

The politics of education is presently without an integrative intellectual identity. Its scope is not well defined or its boundaries firmly fixed. Researchers in the field have shown differing conceptions of the essential core of their studies, whether it be the governance of education, education and the political system, or the policy process in education. Moreover, they have indicated little interest in designing analytical classification schemes or mapping systems that might lend form and direction to their collective effort. A diversity in purposes and priorities and a wide range of approaches and methods are symptomatic of the lack of a coherent conception of the field.

To date, the direction and character of research in the field have been primarily influenced by the instrumental values of the education profession, the availability of financial support and accessibility of data, and the

"excitement of the chase." Perhaps these influences offer some explanation of the concentration of research attention on particular areas in the field and the consequent neglect of others. In any case, while variance in interest and product is not a disadvantage to the development of a field of study, substantive advance hinges on the refinement of focus and the perfection of method. The paradox confronting the politics of education is not unlike that faced by other emerging fields of study. Optimal development requires a clear focus and some degree of consensus on purposes and priorities, yet demands deliberate debate on theoretical and methodological perspectives.

Conceptual Approaches

For the most part, studies in the politics of education continue to mirror the hortatory and formalistic approach to administration and organization that preceded the behavioral movement and policy science orientation in the social sciences. Despite abandonment by nearly all administration-organization theorists, the theory of the absolute separation of administration and policy implicitly underlies much of the research in the field. Such research tends to view the political-educational system in static structural terms, emphasizing the formal relations among role incumbents rather than the more dynamic aspects of the system.

Consequently, little attention has been devoted to the dynamics of politics, the political behavior of role incumbents, or the policy process in educational governance. In fact, with the exception of a few notable studies (Bailey and Mosher 1968, Gittell and others 1967, and Rogers 1968), politics is not generally considered a pervasive phenomenon occurring within a system context. One obvious implication of this approach to the study of educational politics is that it promotes the analysis of a segment of an institution or process without a system reference. The focus is on description of institutional arrangements and functions, neglecting vital informal processes of interaction and channels of influence.

In his treatment of the development of political science, Truman (1965) observed that the "nontheoretical consensus" prevailing in that discipline logically followed from "the unexamined assumption that the system provided its own theory and that the task before the profession was to facilitate the inevitable flowering of democracy." While the "nontheoretical consensus" in educational research had its roots in another tradition, it has manifested normative and teleologic tendencies comparable to those in political science. For instance, the early studies in school finance were predicated on the basic assumption that educational quality pivoted entirely on the level of expenditure for education. Advocacy studies of this nature asserted statements about correlations between empirical variables but provided no theoretical explanation of those empirical observations. However revealing of

input-output relationships were the studies by Mort and his colleagues, their purpose, whether explicitly acknowledged or not, was to develop and strengthen school revenue sources. In his historical survey of the adaptability studies that grew out of Mort's work, Ross (1958) hinted at the normative tone of those studies, concluding that the adaptability concept "led to a belief in the importance of local initiative and freedom as an important device for securing progress in educational practice."

Despite a growing awareness of the complementary relationship between theory and empirical research, theory yet remains perceptibly peripheral to the field of educational politics. Much of the research in the field suggests that researchers have been more favorably disposed to description, historicism, and chronology than to the empirical testing of theoretically deduced hypotheses.

Accordingly, the inventory of studies empirically testing theoretically deduced hypotheses is small. Because of the lack of a unique analytical vocabulary necessary for the development of theoretical propositions, studies designed to verify such hypotheses have borrowed concepts from the social sciences. For instance, Cistone (1971) related theoretical propositions from political science and sociology in constructing a hypothesis that predicts a relationship between elements of the political culture of municipalities and the school board-superintendent role relationship. Research of this kind clearly serves to demonstrate the validity, or at least the utility, of theoretical propositions by subjecting them to empirical research. However, it may also prompt new theoretical departures based on that empirical research.

Commenting on the empirical-theoretical continuum, Blau (1969) pointed to the inherent tendency toward increasing levels of generality in theory. He assumed that, as the propositions of middle-range theories are empirically confirmed, they are no longer treated as "explanatory principles but as part of an existing body of facts requiring explanation in more general terms." Hence, broader theories evolve "not only after narrower ones have been empirically validated but frequently in anticipation of it, which may produce a deep hiatus between these theories and research." Ideally, however, Blau concluded, broad theories both evolve from and serve to guide the development of narrower ones, just as narrow theories are derived from and guide empirical research. Blau's observations apply to the development of theory in politics of education as well as in the wider sciences and social sciences.

Currently, there is disagreement among political scientists regarding the optimum strategy for the use and development of political theory. Those who favor a narrower approach to theory maintain that the theoretical enterprise will be best advanced by the formulation of testable propositions—theories of the middle range—accounting for the interrelationship between precisely and operationally defined variables. Others prefer a broader ap-

proach, contending that diverse theoretical propositions can be linked and integrated into a viable systematic theory by constructing broad generalizations that are not necessarily testable.

In the strictest sense, no unifying, broad-gauge *theory of politics* exists. Even the broad frameworks proposed by Almond (1960) and Easton (1953, 1965a, and 1965b), though they identify and clarify phenomena in their respective fields, have yet to be rendered theoretical. Frameworks simply are not theories: while they may classify variables and specify categories of variables, such classifications and categories are not amenable to translation into testable explanatory propositions. The growing popularity of political systems analysis as an attempt at a broad approach to theorizing cannot be denied: indeed, it is not without appeal among researchers in the politics of education. The issue, nevertheless, is whether such a "general theory" can be formulated with sufficient precision to imply testable hypotheses. A "general theory" of politics meeting this criterion has not yet evolved.

What Merton (1957) said about general sociological theory may be appropriately applied to the current state of general theory in political science—that it consists of "*general orientations toward data, suggesting types of variables which theories must somehow take into account, rather than clearly formulated, verifiable statements of relationships between specified variables.*" "We have many concepts," he concluded, "but fewer confirmed theories: many points of view, but few theorems: many 'approaches' but few arrivals."

Easton's political systems approach (1953, 1965a, and 1965b) has had some influence on students in the politics of education. Early use of the approach applied to the analysis of school systems is evident in Scribner's work (1966 and 1970). In his explanation of the interrelationships of private and public interests and of different levels in primary and secondary schools, Wirt (1970 and 1972) employed a systems analytic framework to categorize research literature in the field. Wirt and Kirst (1972) have contributed perhaps the most extensive and integrated treatment of the literature in the field based on the analytic scheme of political systems theory. In contrast with the systems analytic perspective, Iannaccone (1967) has pursued a middle-range theory (Merton 1957) in the politics of education.

The utility of several specific theoretical concepts in analyzing critical "leverage points" in the policy-making process (actors, roles, institutions, processes, and so forth) has been highlighted by Schoettle (1968). In their review of research in the politics of education, Kirst and Mosher (1969) adapted Schoettle's scheme in an attempt to categorize relevant studies in educational politics. Their categories, together with the illustrative studies cited, included:

1. citizen perceptions, opinions, attitudes, and voting practices with

regard to educational issues (Carter 1960, Carter and Sutthoff 1960, Carter and Odell 1966, and Greenstein 1965)
2. habitual strategies, information sources, and perceived self-interest of relevant policy-makers (Pois 1964)
3. roles in the policy-making process (Gross, Mason, and McEachern 1958)
4. premises and context for authoritative decision-making (Crain and Street 1966)
5. groups as interacting pluralities of individuals who share common political interests and goals (Rosenthal 1969)
6. structure and impact of governmental institutions and processes (James, Kelly, and Garms 1966)
7. influence of elites or community power structures on educational policies and programs (Kimbrough 1964).

It was Easton's view (1965b) that no single approach to conceptualizing any area of human behavior does full justice to its variety and complexity. "Each type of theoretical orientation," he wrote, "brings to the surface a different set of problems, provides unique insights and emphases, and thereby makes it possible for alternative and even competing theories to be equally and simultaneously useful." The special significance of the Kirst and Mosher (1969) classification is that it may represent a crucial first step in the process of theory-building in the politics of education. Conceptualization requires classification (Kaplan 1964), and when classification schemes evolve into models of the perceived world, theories begin to emerge (Dubin 1969).

In its evolution toward scientific maturity, educational politics may be expected to cast its research problems in more theoretical frames of reference. The theoretical ferment accompanying the behavioral tendency in the social sciences virtually assures the fertilization of the field. However, this is not to suggest that the foreseeable future of educational politics will include development of distinct theoretical frameworks or integration of partial theories into more inclusive ones. It seems more reasonable to anticipate a growing sensitivity to the conjunction of theory and empirical research and the utility of alternative conceptual approaches.

Methodological Approaches

During the past decade, the various social sciences have produced new methods of empirical investigation that have, in turn, made available new kinds of data and data categories. These advances have been enhanced by the greater availability of computer services for processing data and for applying more sophisticated statistical methods in data analysis.

Commenting on these recent trends, Deutsch (1966) observed that such developments contributed to the emergence of new theoretical approaches to politics. That is, the classic theories of politics were essentially deterministic models encompassing a restricted range of variables, and they relegated to a

residual category a multiplicity of variables not accounted for in the construct. New research methods and techniques have permitted a shift to probabilistic models that could be analyzed statistically. "Causality was thus replaced by probability," Deutsch noted, "and the search for single causes and for master keys to prediction or control gave way to multivariate analysis."

Underlying every piece of research is the investigator's notion of the relative importance of problems in his field. The choice of a domain of interest is dependent on his conceptualization of priorities among research problems. Accordingly, what one studies and how one proceeds depend as much on a set of primary value judgments held by the investigator as they do on his framework of assumptions about the nature of the object studied. Hence, every piece of research is "tainted" by personal involvement and affected by "intellectual passion." As Harp and Richer (1969) emphasized, "All research begins with the investigator's originating question which limits his analysis and greatly influences the methods used."

The long-standing inclination of researchers in the politics of education for historical studies and, therefore, for gathering and organizing data chronologically is evidenced by the number of such studies in the field. The use of noncontemporary data is essential in evolutionary and developmental analyses. The principal liability of such data is that they are verifiable solely in terms of logical deduction. However, this is not to minimize the value of data generated by longitudinal studies and cross-sectional analyses in connection with process models. The companion studies by Goldhammer and Farner (1964) and Goldhammer and Pellegrin (1968) amply demonstrate the rich data and penetrating insights into educational politics that longitudinal studies might furnish.

The influence of the behavioral persuasion in the social sciences, with its emphasis on the dynamic aspects of social and political phenomena, has begun to shift research in educational politics away from the historical mode. Reviewing research in the field, Kirst and Mosher (1969) indicated the inclination of researchers to favor either the survey or the case study as a research strategy. Their observation was confirmed by Jackson (1971) in her survey of the literature on the politics of school-community relations.

There is no need to comment on the relative advantages and disadvantages of either approach. A number of comprehensive reference works treat the technical and methodological problems and possibilities inherent in the use of either mode (Kerlinger 1964, Riley 1964, Scott 1965, and Lutz and Iannaccone 1969).

The application of advanced quantitative techniques has enabled researchers in the politics of education to study bivariate relationships and to analyze multivariate relationships among several phenomena simultaneously. In

his extensive investigation of the relationship of educational policy outcomes to social, economic, and political variables. Dye (1967) applied multivariate analysis to test the explanatory powers of his model. Briefly, he was unable to produce evidence of a "strong explanatory linkage between political system characteristics and educational outcomes." Urban environmental forces appeared to influence educational outcomes directly, without being mediated by structural variables. Employing the factor analysis technique in a related study, Sharkansky and Hofferbert (1969) reported that the relationships among political, economic, and policy factors showed that "where a state is wealthy and shows high [voter] turnout and intense interparty competition, it is likely to score high on the level of welfare and educational services."

The fact that case studies may highlight linkages among phenomena in a manner not done by statistical analyses is shown in the process-oriented case studies in educational politics by Masters, Salisbury, and Eliot (1964) and by Bailey and his colleagues (1962). In each case, immediate and distant antecedents of policy were related to subsequent policy decisions. The case study of the Robertsdale School District carried out by Lutz (1962) as a participant-observer illustrates the sensitizing, hypothesis-generating function that such an approach may serve. Lutz's study culminated in a research program of verificational studies at the Claremont Graduate School several years later (Iannaccone 1967).

The crucial point is that both approaches are critical in building knowledge in the politics of education: neither one alone is satisfactory. While the well-designed and skillfully implemented case study is of inestimable value, comparative studies that integrate quantitative analytic techniques with the comparative case method seem optimally suited to testing hypotheses and building theories.

Implications

Researchers in the politics of education have been inveterate borrowers of concepts and methods from the social sciences, especially political science and sociology. Indeed, the field of educational politics has been shaped more by the inputs of data, concepts, and methods from the social sciences than by its own outputs. To the extent that the field is an open system, it will continue to maintain fruitful linkages with related fields; its status among those fields will at least partially depend upon the extent to which its research activities are interdependent with those in other fields. Nonetheless, if the politics of education is to evolve into a field of study distinct from a more diffuse tradition, in the future it will need to devote more of its collective thrust to synthesizing activities if not to developing new concepts and methods.

3

Arenas and Issues

Despite the fact that most of the research in educational politics has been conceptually naive, theoretically weak, generally nonprogrammatic, seldom systematic, and pragmatically directed at problems and solutions, one question has been asked repeatedly. That question, initially posed by Robert A. Dahl (1961) in his research on New Haven politics, is, Who governs? Using this question as a point of departure, the research may be examined along two lines.

The first approach pays primary attention to the basic arenas and governmental levels in which most of the politics of education is found. The other line of inquiry seeks to dimensionalize the issues addressed by activities in educational politics. In this chapter we examine only briefly the first line, which is further elaborated in subsequent chapters. The balance of the chapter offers an approach to dimensionalizing the issues in the politics of education. The question Who governs? recurs throughout both approaches.

A political orientation, in contrast to a public law approach, suggests a political power rooted in local districts rather than a state dominance. The result, de facto if not de jure, is a condition of dual sovereignty. This conclusion is discussed in chapter 4. Similarly, a political behavioral orienta-

tion requires that scholars distinguish between the large traditional urban centers and the other local school districts, despite their similarity in terms of constitutional law. Viewed from the perspective of current research in the politics of education, therefore, it appears that four governmental arenas—urban, other local districts, state, and federal—require separate attention by students of educational politics. Chapters 1 through 7 of this monograph reflect this conclusion.

Introduction to the Main Arenas

The formal concept of federalism, involving the distinct division of powers and responsibilities among governmental jurisdictions, is historically inherent in the American system of educational government. While the Constitution makes no mention of education, the Tenth Amendment reserves to the states and to the people those powers not expressly or impliedly conferred on the federal government.

In the educational sphere the powers of the federal government derive from the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution, which authorizes Congress "to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, and to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and the general Welfare of the United States." The clause has been interpreted by the Supreme Court as granting Congress the authority to tax and spend for broad social purposes, including, by implication, education. Moreover, the federal government may enter into agreements with the states for the mutual support of education and may exercise whatever controls are necessary to accomplish those purposes for which federal funds are appropriated.

But education is a state function. Subject to constitutional limitations, the power of the state in educational affairs is plenary: that is, the state legislature may enact any statute not expressly or impliedly forbidden by fundamental law. The state delegates administrative powers in education to the local school district. As an instrument through which state policy is effected, the school district generally possesses quasi-corporate powers.

As the legally controlling, policy-making body at the local level, the school board is both a creature of the state and a local institution. The board acts in the interests of the school district whose public it represents while implementing the mandates of the state. Judicial opinion has ruled that the school board may exercise those powers expressly granted by statute, those fairly implied in or necessarily incidental to expressly granted powers, and those essential to the declared goals and objectives of the school district.

Although such a legal definition of school board authority appears narrow, the courts have in fact tended to allow local school boards fairly broad powers. In the absence of explicit statutory authority, the courts have generally sustained local actions under broad interpretations of implied powers.

The principle of local initiative and home rule in educational policy-making and program development has been an enduring one in the evolution of the federal concept of educational government.

Each sphere of authority and responsibility tends to obscure the operational realities of educational policy-making. None of the three levels of government is isolated from the actions, influences, and pressures of the others (Cistone 1972). Educational policy may be viewed as growing out of basic socioeconomic forces that generate movements antecedent to policy and that encourage political action and activities leading to the formalization of educational policy (Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee 1970).

Public and private cross-pressures and cross-influences alter formal intergovernmental relationships and create a complex matrix of political influence in educational policy-making. Some of the actual and potential patterns of influence have been charted in table 1 by Bailey and Mosher (1968). They noted that cutting across the authority and involvement of the agencies pre-

TABLE 1

INFLUENCES ON EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES

	National	*State*	*Local*
General Legislative	(1) Congress	(2) State Legislature	(3) Common Council
Educational Legislative	(4) Congressional Subcommittee	(5) State School Board	(6) Local School Board
Executive	(7) President	(8) Governor	(9) Mayor
Administrative	(10) HEW-USOE	(11) State Department of Education	(12) School Superintendent
Judicial	(13) Supreme Court	(14) State Supreme Court	(15) Federal or State District Court
Professional Interests	(16) NEA	(17) State Teachers Association	(18) Local PTA
Other Private Interests	(19) U.S. Catholic Conference	(20) State Chamber of Commerce	(21) John Birch Society Chapter

SOURCE: Stephen K. Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p. 232.

sented in their grid are "the pervasive influences of various ideologues and journalists, and of the producers of textbooks and educational hardware." Regardless of the relative influences at any given time, they reasoned, "educational policy increasingly is bound to reflect the extended interaction of all levels and types of government and a wide variety of private and professional forces."

Research on the dynamic aspects of educational policy-making requires inferences not only about individual behavior but about the actions and *policies of groups, institutions, and organizations. Commenting on current* methodological dilemmas in political science, Eulau (1969) stressed that while the distinctions between macro- and micro-units as empirical objects of inquiry are relative to the standpoint of the investigator, units like the individual, group, organization, community, and so on are continuous, rather than polar, variables in political analysis. The task of political research, Eulau maintained, should be to link these units in terms of vertical and horizontal patterns of relationships as part of a continuous chain. No such program of sustained research has yet emerged in the politics of education.

Moreover, little attention has been given to the crucial effects of processes and policies on the general welfare of politically relevant actors. The present state of the art in educational politics hardly allows for successfully undertaking Eulau's task in the near future. However, a view of the politics of education more realistic than that presented by constitutional law, combined with a concern for the issues central to the political processes of education, may provide a step in that direction. Accepting the risk in any artificial synthesis of discrete and unprogrammatic studies, it appears that the answer to Dahl's question (Who governs?) provides the best current approximation to Eulau's undertaking.

The Major Issues

In addition to the jurisdictional approach just described—that is, consideration of the agencies or levels of government involved—the politics of education may be viewed from the standpoint of the issues it generates and addresses. Here the focus may turn toward the issues that typically engage the attention of educational governance agencies and their political mechanisms. Or the investigator may examine the broader question implicit in the governance of education—its structure and history—to determine who governs education or who controls educational politics.

In the following brief survey, an attempt is made to review selectively some of the main currents of recent research that address both of the above concerns, that is, those that deal with typical issues in the politics of education and those that consider the broad issue of control. Neither an extensive

inventory of substantive findings nor a comprehensive review of the literature in the field is intended. Rather, the focus is on some lines of inquiry that appear to have contributed toward an understanding of the politics of education.

Given the present unsettled condition of the field, it may be presumptuous to attempt such an undertaking. The growing availability of new data and research methods has generated new knowledge that, in many cases, has invalidated old assumptions and undermined much conventional wisdom. Many hypotheses and generalizations, untested and unchallenged in the past, are now being subjected to systematic analysis.

For analytical purposes, the types of issues and each of the four traditional arenas of educational politics—urban, other local, state, and federal—are considered separately. It should be kept in mind, however, that the chain of political influences nonetheless functions as an interlocking totality. Even a cursory review of the literature reveals a major research oversight precisely in this area of intergovernmental relationships in educational policy-making.

TYPICAL ISSUES IN THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

The issue of who governs education or who controls the schools appears in the bulk of the research in the politics of education. Present findings raise significant questions not only about the governance of education but about the future of democracy as well. Indeed, educational governance questions may be viewed as a special category of a larger class of issues concerned with the survival of representative government in the modern world—issues touched on in subsequent sections of this study.

What concerns us in this section are the issues that find their place on the agenda of the politics of education, that is, those issues that concern political conflict in educational governance and related families of government. One danger in addressing this problem is that inordinate attention may be given to those issues that capture the imagination, have audience appeal, or are "in," when most of the political behavior, processes, and value choices are to be found in the day-to-day behavior of school governance bodies and officials.

Indeed, the recurrent findings of studies in the politics of education indicate that educational political decision-making—whether of local school officers, local school boards, state department officials, state boards, legislatures, federal officials, or the Congress—tends overwhelmingly to involve routine decisions (Smoley 1965). This finding testifies not only to the conservatism of schools in the midst of social unrest and clamor for change, but also to the nearly autonomous control of educational operations by the organized professionals and employees of the public school system.

It might therefore appear useful to categorize issues in the politics of education along a dimension of routine to nonroutine, though the results indicate

less about the substantive nature of these issues than about procedural aspects of their handling.

Routine policy-making issues. Many political decisions made by local boards and chief school administrators, by federal officers, and by state officials and boards have been routinized. These routine decisions may be considered as nonissues in the politics of education only if we attribute political importance to decisions that involve conflict and occur in a climate of heightened politicalization.*

Episodic or ephemeral issues. At the other extreme from routine policy-making is an unpredictable potpourri of issues and events that trigger political action and conflict in specific school districts or states but do not, on the surface, directly reflect either broad social concerns or the persistent ideological direction of the educational professions. Except where indepth case studies provide detailed analyses of the significance of these particular and episodic occurrences, it is impossible to judge whether such an event or issue is a symptom reflecting deeper political cleavage in the affected educational unit of government or merely a specific and brief consequence of the personalities of the participants.

Several factors that make such a situation difficult to assess are the customary public dependence on professional leaders to frame the educational politics agenda, the related "low visibility" of the politics of education, and the usually small voter turnout for educational elections. Additionally, in the governance of education there is an absence of such political mechanisms as parties to articulate educational issues and to provide value choices to the public with periodic regularity.

Martin (1962) noted that perennial educational issues for the public were almost entirely economic concerns: tax rates, school buildings, bond issues, school budgets, and teachers' salaries, ranked in that order. Other matters that provoked public controversy in education were so ephemeral and specific to particular events that he classified them as episodic. Consequently, it appears that apart from financial decisions largely concerned with the question of the degree to which education should be supported, perennial issues in the politics of education do not greatly concern the lay public.

It may seem strange that the politics of education also displays a persistent stability of behavior in educational operations (for example, in delivery

* Research in the politics of education suggests, indeed, that gross factors such as population changes in educational government units, general social satisfaction or dissatisfaction with public affairs, periodic national or even international waves of concern about education, general confidence or lack of confidence in public agencies and economic conditions, as well as particular elements such as the idiosyncratic behavior of a specific school administrator, lift many educational issues from the realm of the routine into the realm of political conflict.

subsystems) despite a continuing ebb and flow of criticism of public education. Students of educational politics who are interested in understanding and improving the implementation of public policy in education might profit greatly from investigating the reasons for and the functional significance of the crisis-bound and episodic nature of political conflict in education.

Willower's (1970) functional analysis of schools appears suggestive here. His concern is with the episodic and ephemeral nature of educational change (or the appearance of change) despite a high degree of stability in the functioning of a large number of structures that act to stabilize and conserve the organization and to protect its personnel. According to Willower, an array of routinized structures that serves to delay change compensates for the inherent political vulnerability of the school organization. The absence of political mechanisms for facilitating public articulation of value choices produces a vacuum most often filled by episodic issues (or events) and petty political crises, but not by planned public policy.

Perennial issues that concern professional educators. Between the area of routinized decisions and the episodic issues that emerge under special conditions and shortly subside lie two large domains of issues that should be mentioned. The first embraces issues of long-standing importance for the organized education professions. The second involves issues that reflect the larger society.

At least as early as the past century but more clearly in the first half of this one, five areas of educational political issues of interest to professional educators could be discerned. These have been identified in the agenda articulated and developed at the end of the 1920s by George D. Strayer and Paul R. Mort in commission reports to guide educational policy in New York State (Benenati 1971).

The significance of the impact made by Strayer and Mort and their colleagues on American education is suggested by several consequences: the influence of their agenda in school district and state studies, their prominence in the organized professions, the exportation of their state educational lobby model to many states, and the widespread placement of their students in critical educational policy-making positions. Even apart from any assessment of Strayer and Mort's impact, direct or indirect, the evidence indicates the universality and persistent prominence of the five issues for the education professions.

The issue engaging greatest attention on the agenda is that of commanding resources for schools—largely by mobilizing support for educational funds and developing conceptual models (particularly of state funding programs). Not only is this issue first in saliency for the profession, but it also influences the profession's stance on other issues.

A second element in the agenda is the issue of reorganizing the local

school district to increase its size and economic viability and to separate it from other local governments. Another aspect of district reorganization is seen in the struggle for administrative unification and centralization, accompanied by bureaucratic hierarchy. One may ask the question: What political outputs—by which we mean public policy decisions and their implementation—stand out most clearly as the product of some seventy years of political activities in education? The answer can be observed in state finance formulae and in the great numbers of local school districts that have disappeared by merging into larger units.

Researchers who have focused on New York State and the professions in general identify another major issue as the control of professional training and personnel, through licensing. Concern with improving the performance of teachers and administrators inevitably means that the leaders of the organized profession gain even greater authority over the rank and file. Certification changes over the years have diminished public control of the selection and employment of educators, and developments in tenure laws have increased the autonomy of the organized profession.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the political successes in these areas have resulted in increased autonomy for the individual teacher. The rise of teacher militancy in the 1960s and the separation of teacher organizations from those of school administrators would suggest that the development of teacher autonomy fell far short of its potential. However, it would appear that the autonomy of teachers was bound to increase as a result of expanded professional control of certification. The combination of such factors as growth of teacher power and independence, control of licensure, and tenure and job protection has inevitably augmented the profession's independence from both public officials and voters.

A fourth important issue is found in the political opposition to private schools. Generally, that opposition does not discriminate between independent, free, or parochial schools and is primarily, but not exclusively, concerned with political activity to prevent nonpublic schools from receiving public funds. Until recently federal aid to nonpublic schools in this century rested on the courts, which are relatively insulated from education lobbies.

The final issue on the agenda is that of adjusting the resource advantage of the large cities to benefit rural and small suburban school districts. The rural bias characteristic of much of American life, even if based only on an idealized rural community, has permeated educational leadership throughout this century and, in fact, still characterizes the ethos of some educational governance models. In the 1970s it may appear ironic that in the 1920s and the years immediately following, the profession's political agenda considered the issue of financial equalization as involving readjustment of the fiscal balance against the largest cities. Seen in our historical perspective, that position

should not be held against the profession's political leaders of a bygone era.

Issues that reflect the larger society. Among the issues that attract the attention of studies in educational politics are those that relate intimately to the vast social and economic changes that affect the larger society's concerns about public affairs and that place new demands on education. Recent issues of this kind reflect the international role of the United States, especially in the Cold War, as well as the national problems of social inequality and poverty. The ironic consequence of the profession's political successes can scarcely be escaped. The changes occurring in such areas as the role of the federal government in education and in the relationships between the federal government, the state, and the local school districts result largely from these broad national concerns.

The Cold War, especially the incentive of Sputnik, gave rise to national concern over the quality of education and the curriculum (Burgess and Borrowman 1969). As Meranto (1967) has noted, the political agenda that followed Sputnik had in fact existed earlier. The shock of the Russians' achievement, however, provided a favorable climate for federal action to promote curriculum change and initiated a process that decreased the political influence of the organized profession over federal policy. The passage of a National Defense Education Act testified once more to the fact that national educational policy changes of whatever sort are likely to have implications for the issue of who controls educational governance.

Similar implications may be seen in the process leading to and the administration of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. These have been studied by Bailey and Mosher (1968) in *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law.* In this instance, internal social problems of poverty and race rather than external national concerns of the Cold War played the major role.

Many of the studies concerned with the delivery systems and impact of federal policy on state and local educational politics (Crain 1968, Orfield 1969, and Kirst 1972) consider the issues of poverty and race in educational politics. Court decisions have stimulated political events, which in turn have provided grist to the mill of educational politics studies concerned with problems of race, poverty, and ethnicity in education. The focus of urban politics of education owes much of its existence to these issues and in turn again has generated concern for the issue of who controls schools and educational governments.

Finally, the issues raised by student unrest, particularly when mixed with those of poverty and race and focused in the urban setting, also serve to draw the attention of students and activists to the questions of control and influence in the politics of education. These concerns have given rise to movements and research bearing on such topics as the nature of educational governance; the

issues of representation and reorganization; and the traditional concerns for finance, credentialling, and the interests, problems, and conflicts of private and public schools.

THE GENERAL ISSUE OF CONTROL (WHO GOVERNS)

A second major type of issue repeatedly mentioned in the research on politics of education is the central character of the political processes in education. One view emphasizes the interplay of groups and group interests as central to educational policy-making. Not all groups, indeed only a few, have easy access of educational policy-making or are deeply interested and consistently involved in it. This observation is generally valid for all issues in areas of public service.

Typically, however, the politics of education has been a "game," dominated by an educational elite and characterized by "low visibility" and an "insider" mode of operation. This approach does not ensure that the traditional education interest groups can obtain all they want from the legislature or the public or even from each other. On the contrary, awareness of their limitations and the admission that there is an established group pattern of interests in educational policy leads to questions educational leaders must confront: What price is paid for maintaining control of the politics of education, for keeping decisions inside the family as it were? At what point does this position reduce the capacity to compete advantageously for resources? Perhaps the advantages that result from unified, "inside the family" control are neutralized or offset by the dangers of remaining self-contained and isolated. At another level, that of the exchange of ideas, the question may be posed differently: At what point should we be guided by the rule that too many cooks spoil the broth rather than two heads are better than one?

The issue is whether the circle of elites who now influence educational policy-making is too narrow, too impermeable, too remote, and too inflexible to cope effectively with the problems of the 1970s as these reflect perennial issues. The inquiry applies in at least two directions: internally for the groups and externally as these groups face society.

Viewing the question internally, we may find a conglomeration of elite factions, each highly influential in its own tiny educational and public policy arena, but too isolated and myopic to further the general cause. From the external vantage point, we may recognize the present difficulty of generating sufficient public support for choosing clear public policy directions for education and commanding the resources needed to carry out these choices.

It is the policy-makers who must confront the problems implied in this issue: the scholar can only present the picture of the world as he studies it. As students of educational politics we can say that the governance issues growing out of the balance of power between provincial government and

local school boards require continuous attention. So, also, do the issues of the few versus the many and the experts versus the general public. In this regard, Harrington's statement of about 1650 is applicable: "The wisdom of the few is the light of mankind, but the interest of the few is not the interest of mankind."

The issue of the few and the many is not unique to the politics of education. Nor is the balance of centralized and local governance unique to educational policy-making. These are fundamental issues that require periodic reexamination in a democratic government. The fundamental unresolved constitutional and political issues inherited from our forefathers will in turn be our legacy to our children and their children's children when their time comes.

Despite the perennial nature of these issues, it is encouraging to find that the increasing awareness by policy-makers and scholars of problems with the delivery systems in education and the peculiar strength of the dual sovereignty of this area have combined to affect the politics of education with greater shaping force. Acute educational conflicts currently exist between professional experts who provide a public service and the lay recipients of that service. The need for clarity in understanding educational governance and the manner in which it influences the politics of education is, therefore, especially great at this time.

In sum, the politics of education may be viewed as showing concern with a broad range of issues, from routinized policy-making to episodic crises. Between these extremes two general classes may be discerned: issues that are salient to the profession in particular and those that reflect broad national goals and problems of the past two decades. Running across all of these, woven into them, and rising in prominence are the issues of educational governance—its forms and structures and personnel, as well as the crucial questions that deal not only with who directs and controls educational governments but who should perform these functions.

4

Local Politics of Education

The politics of education functions within a context of constitutionality that defines the fundamental character of educational governance and shapes its politics. At the basic level, the separation of educational governance from other governments makes it an individual member of the family of governments. Specifically, local school districts are separated from municipal and county governments.

Among the political consequences flowing from this separation are the nature of the political relationship between the local school districts and the state, the nearly autonomous political relations of the local school district with other local governments, and the absence in the local district of political parties combining, dividing, and articulating issues for voters. Another consequence may be seen in the low visibility and low voter turnout punctuated by episodic political crises and changes in the voter turnout pattern of local school district politics.

The separation of educational governance reflects the nature of the educational task and the success of the long history of attempts to implement the political reform ideology of the nineteenth century. One result of these forces has been the legal development of local school governments as subdivisions

of the state rather than of other local governments, maximizing the local school district's function as an arm of the state and its independence from local government. Were constitutional law the only political force at work shaping educational governance, this independence might not imply autonomy for local school districts but subservience to the state instead. The consequences of the political ideologies cited earlier, however, militate against this subservience, producing instead a characteristic political climate of autonomy in school district relations with the state as well as local government. As will be seen, not only are local district politics influenced by professional schoolmen, but the state's activities are affected by the power of state organizations led by schoolmen.

The Concept of Dual Sovereignty

The forces resulting from the legal constitutional structure and the persistent beliefs of people about educational governance have produced a condition of dual sovereignty between the state and the local school district. Since that dual sovereignty enhances the influence of the organizations led by professional schoolmen, it does not result in the maximization of either state or local government in education to the exclusion of the other. In other words, the dual sovereignty produces dominant influence by organized schoolmen, which in turn functions to prevent the breakdown of the competing state and local governments (Iannaccone 1972a).

The statement that "education is a state function locally administered" does not pay sufficient tribute to the political realities of educational governance. It is a constitutional law view, which distorts how the political realities are constituted. The uncorrected constitutional law view may confuse both the student's and the public's awareness of the politics of education and specifically what effects the structure of local educational governance has on its politics. This confusion may be seen in efforts by laymen to change or influence education and by scholars to discover and predict relationships between variations in the governance of education and educational or even policy outcomes.

A key source of the problems frequently studied in the local politics of education lies in the constitutional structure of educational governance and policy-making, which channels and to some degree determines the nature of the educational political game. Constitutional variations among local school districts appear to be less significant than do some other factors in determining policy outcomes, political processes, and administrative decisions (James, Kelly, and Garms 1966). For example, constitutional law and structure may be the area in which United States and Canadian education differ most; however, their educational political processes, policy outcomes, and administrative decisions differ much less.

It is rudimentary in constitutional law that education is a state or provincial function administered through local school districts. However, as we have long known, the "small-c constitution"—not the written documents—is the spiritual core of the political process (MacIver 1965). In this case error believed in is truth in effect. As long as people believe the local school district is their representative agency of government in educational policy-making, and as long as they believe education is a local matter, the politics of education will reflect those beliefs.

In a very significant sense, what some theorists of revolution refer to as a condition of dual sovereignty characterizes (and has long characterized) educational governance. The state claim to sovereignty rests on the legal constitutional reality; the local claim rests on tradition, the belief of the people, and their perceptions of what the constitution is and should be. And what they believe it should be influences what they think it is. Apart from each other, neither the document nor the political belief is the *real* constitution.

The point is that both the state and local governments of education are here to stay. The dual government of education is a continuing source of problems *and* solutions. The structure of educational governance on the North American continent rests on the dynamic tension between local and state educational governance. That is the constitutional reality, if there is one. This dynamic tension is akin to a marriage without the possibility of divorce; it produces family conflicts, which are also often fruitful and productive. The next years will see a greater series of readjustments in the balance of power between state and local districts than in the past, but these are not likely to alter fundamentally the constitutional base of the politics of education.

As a result of the constitutional foundation, the politics of local school districts may not be presumed to follow the laws of local municipal politics. Moreover, findings about the general local politics of specific communities are not automatically transferable to their local school districts, even in the rare instances in which the two governments are perfectly coterminous. To the contrary, what is clear is that there is a distinguishable politics of education requiring attention from students and others.

Nor does the separation imply that the more basic laws and theories of political behavior useful in understanding general local politics are irrelevant to the politics of education. Again, quite the contrary is true. School district voter behavior in educational elections is as predictable (and by the same basic theoretical explanations) as voter behavior in general elections within municipal governments.

What is different is the set of conditions. Nonpartisan versus party mechanisms and the force of reform ideology as modified by beliefs in profes-

sionalism and local autonomy for education, for instance, must be taken into account when applying the fundamental theories of political behavior to the politics of education. Political theory in the area of voter behavior, for example, has proved valuable for explanation and prediction when the conditions cited above have been met. On the other hand, when attempts have been made to relate variations in constitutional structures of local districts to variations in policy outputs without the use of theory (for example, relating fiscal independence/dependence to expenditure), the results have been fruitless (James, Kelly, and Garms 1966). Similarly, the political context and influence of the ideological stance of political subcultures are fruitful considerations for predicting commonalities in local school and municipal government (Cistone 1971). The use of demographic variables to predict political behavior has also demonstrated significant utility (Minar 1966, Iannaccone 1967, and Jennings and Zeigler 1971).

Consideration of the nature of educational governance and of the ideological and demographic dimensions of political subcultures suggests that major differences exist in the politics of education between rural and suburban school districts as contrasted with the larger urban school districts. These differences appear significant enough to require separate examination of the educational politics of larger urban schools. The remainder of this chapter will discuss aspects of the politics of education in local districts other than the larger urban ones. The next chapter will devote attention to educational politics in the urban environment.

The Local Arena of Educational Politics

The scope and methods of research in local educational politics are nearly as varied as the communities themselves. Generalizations extrapolated from research are therefore difficult to formulate, given the diversity of settings and methodologies and the lack of a generalized, unifying theory.

Perhaps the major shortcoming of research on local educational policy-making is that generally the crucial linkages between the macrolevel of general government and the microlevel of the school board (and less often the school district) have been neglected. Recently, the relationship between macro- and microlevel analyses has received greater attention in the social sciences. It has been persuasively argued that community politics is a function of both macro- and microlevel variables and that research that does not take into account the possible linkages between these two classes of phenomena has only minimal explanatory power. The concomitant impact of both macro- and microvariables on local educational policy outputs remains virtually unresearched.

Foreshadowing research in the local politics of education are studies of school boards and community relations. School board studies are concerned

with such matters as identifying effective board members, determining their social classes and attitudes toward various educational issues, and analyzing the selection of board members, the relationship of superintendent and board, and the relationships of superintendents and/or boards to the community power structure or interest groups.

Stapley's work (1952 and 1957) provides an example of research on board member effectiveness. Gross, Mason, and McEachern (1958) used role analysis of community pressures on board members and superintendents to study board member motivation. Role analysis, as developed in social psychology, provides the theoretical basis for much research along these lines. Counts' landmark study (1927) of the social class composition of school boards was followed by many similar studies. Indeed, in 1955 Charters criticized the continuation of the genre as fruitless and recommended attention be given to other questions. Recently, Jennings and Zeigler (1972) and Cistone (1974) have directed attention not so much to the social class composition of school boards as to the individual experiences and social and political processes that successively narrow the population of a school system to the very few persons elected to the school board.

Nonetheless, until recently the bulk of the research in local educational politics has consisted of traditional school board and community studies, repeating the frameworks and methods of the past and taking the form of crude status surveys (Charters 1968a and 1968b). The shift away from these studies was noted in the first chapter: yet most of the recent research adds little to the traditional survey. At the local level, surveys and ex post facto correlational designs constitute most of the research in the past two decades.

Despite the vigorous pace at which community power studies are continuing in the social sciences, relatively few of them relate directly to education. In most community studies, education-oriented decisions and issues receive only incidental treatment.

The interest of political scientists and sociologists in community power structure is reflected in the educational administration research of the past two decades. Despite the abundance of research studies, systematic analyses of relationships between community power structure and school decision-making are largely absent from the research. This strand of research has generated more controversy over monolithic versus pluralistic ideas than findings about the effects of community power structures on education.

Studies conducted in Tennessee (Kimbrough 1964), New England (Gleazer 1953), Wyoming (Hair 1956 and Robson 1956), and Oregon (Goldhammer and Farner 1964 and Goldhammer and Pellegrin 1968) suggest that narrow local interests are reflected by school boards. These findings are similar to those of Vidich and Bensman (1968), whose classic study of Springdale, Ohio, identified the school board as the focal point for

important decisions on issues with far-reaching consequences for the community-at-large. A major thesis of the work was that the interlock, duplication, and overlapping of leadership roles served to channel community policy into a few hands, thereby achieving a degree of community coordination. Four of Springdale's leaders, appearing repeatedly in almost all decisional contexts, occupied many of the available leadership roles in the community.

Clearly the most integrative program of research in the area of school system power structures and educational decision-making is Kimbrough's (1964). Following the work of Hunter (1953), Kimbrough studied four rural southern school districts and discovered "behind-the-scenes" informal power groupings that dominated most areas of community life. Challenging the "formal institution-association" model, he concluded that "decisive power" in most school districts is exercised by relatively few persons who hold top positions of influence in the district's informal power structure.

On the other hand, Ploomberg and Sunshine (1963), studying four suburban communities in upstate New York, found that school decision-making was "a highly specialized area" and that formal office holders were usually decision-makers. This is consistent with the work of others (Rosenthal 1969, Crain 1968, and Pellegrin 1968). Martin (1962) reached a similar conclusion except for the episodic nature of issues "which emerge under unusual or special conditions and shortly subside."

Since the educational system in ordinary circumstances is discrete from other political systems in the community, Minar (1964) suggested that the overall dimension of the power structure variable can be set aside for most research on local educational politics. He observed that when education is included in the scope of the policies or decisions toward which community influence is directed, the power structure will seem to have a plural nature in most cases. Therefore, research attention may be focused on the educational sector of the structure.

The comparison of decision structures in educational systems requires a somewhat different classification scheme from that employed in the study of other political systems, according to Minar. He postulated that in a unifunctional, single-scope polity the monopolistic-pluralistic distinction is inappropriate. Rather, classification should relate to technical versus rank authority domination, thereby distinguishing between nonparticipation and participation by other than school professionals. The essential issue, then, is "whether opposed, not complementary, groups outside the authority system attempt to exert influence on the decision process."

Exploring the links between the school system and its social environment, Minar (1966) found that community social structure has a compelling effect on decision-making in the local school system. Communities with higher levels of better-educated people and people in professional-managerial

occupations were identified as low-conflict communities because of their larger supplies of conflict-management skills and attendant attitudes. Minar inferred that in high-status, low-conflict districts, school boards are likely to rely on the technical authority of the superintendent and to grant him considerable decisional latitude. Conversely, school boards in low-status, high-conflict communities are less likely to rely on technical authority and more inclined to participate in administrative matters.

In a related study, Cistone (1971) and Cistone and Hennessy (1971) investigated the relationship between the political ethos of communities and educational decision-making. They found that in communities with reformed governmental structures the school boards accord superintendents greater decisional latitude than in communities with unreformed governmental structures. This research supports Minar's conclusions that some communities are more susceptible to leadership than others, probably because their people are more accustomed to the division of responsibility leadership entails.

Johns and Kimbrough (1968) related types of power structure—monopolistic, competitive elite, segmented pluralism, and multigroup noncompetitive—to financial effort. Kimbrough (1964), following the work of Kammerer (1962), reported indications that alternations of monolithic and fragmented power structures relate to educational policy-making. Iannaccone (1967) hypothesized that alternating stages of monopolistic and fragmented school district power structures reflect the tension between the local government's tendency toward homeostasis and demographic changes requiring new policies and operations.

Change in local educational policy-making has been characterized by Iannaccone and Lutz (1970) as occurring abruptly and intermittently between long periods of stability. They noted that the school board as a group reflects a portion of the school district's social structure and a point of tangency between the formal school organization and elements of the community's social structure. Consequently, they adopted a systems-theory-based model of the political aspects of change in school districts. The model has been validated in a series of subsequent verificational studies.

Iannaccone and Lutz reasoned that when the school board (the central subsystem) is relatively closed and the school district (the macrosystem) is relatively open the ideological orientation and value system of the school district may change over time while that of the school board remains constant. Under such conditions, the exchanges between the two systems become relatively less frequent; thus, the school board and the school district become increasingly dissociated from each other. Over time, however, the school board and superintendent develop a stable relationship more amenable to consensus seeking than to conflict resolution, with the superintendent as the dominant influence.

In their model, the school district's socioeconomic composition changes while the composition and values of the board remain relatively unchanged. *The defeat of incumbents in school board* elections is seen as a manifestation of ideological and value differences between the school board and the school district, intensified by a changing macrosystem and a static subsystem. Incumbent defeat is a prelude to open conflict in school board decision-making, and superintendent tenure and turnover are positively related to the power exchanges occurring among school board members. Following such periods of abrupt change, relative stability is achieved once again.

Summary

As may be seen, each of the directions touched on above bears on the issue of who governs. Several directions appear capable of changing our focus from trying to answer the general question to trying to identify specific conditions under which it may be more fruitfully addressed. These require a macro- rather than a microview.

McGivney and Moynihan (1972) have recently taken another step toward linking the local school district with the broader social forces of mass society. At the same time they provide a correction to the Iannaccone and Lutz (1970) theoretical overstatement by specifying variations in school and community relationships that should lead to alternative hypotheses, specifically related to change, concerning the politics of education. They use Corwin's (1965) typology, combining local and cosmopolitan orientations of schools and their communities to produce four ideal relationship types. Adding the concept "zone of tolerance," they hypothesize five possible school-community interfaces. Valuable for its heuristic qualities, their theoretical direction provides an additional dimension in school-community relations.

The degree of metropolitanization or urbanization of a district appears to have implications for its political cultures and is significant in predicting board conflict (Minar 1964 and Jennings and Zeigler 1971). The extent to which traditional machine politics versus municipal reform values characterize the political subcultures of communities is reflected in school board expectations for superintendent behavior (Cistone 1971). Social time, taking account of where a school district's policy system lies along a continuum of community stability and change, also provides specifiable conditions that enhance scientific prediction in policy-making.

5

Urban Politics of Education

Questions and research findings are similar for both local districts in general and larger urban ones. Because of differences in both degree and kind, however, the urban should be treated as a separate arena of local educational governance. Factors deserving special attention include the following:

1. The intergovernmental relationship between the state and its largest cities is politically quite different from that between the state and smaller local districts (rural and suburban), despite common provisions of constitutional law.
2. The established persistence in the local educational bureaucracy's organized structure of influence in large cities differs distinctly from that in small district counterparts.
3. Larger cities are distinguished by the continued existence—often with formal organizations and offices—of interest groups and by persistent political coalitions of schoolmen and other municipal employee groups.
4. While the concept of political culture is useful in Springdale, Ohio, as well as in Boston, the urban cases involve lengthy histories of political struggles around private- and public-regarding ideologies, accompanied by persistent political alternations between reform and machine governments.

5. The cycle of change related to incumbent defeat in general local districts differs considerably from that for urban school politics.

Attention will be given to each of these five factors as they distinguish urban educational politics and suggest lines for future inquiry.

Intergovernmental Relationships

The largest urban school districts' relationships with their states reflect the bias of the men Callahan (1962) calls the "Ca ɔtains of Education" and the general issue orientations discussed in chapter 3. Even more, they reflect the historic "treaty arrangement" between state and urban political party structures—a treaty that, in effect, allows the city machines to control their jurisdictions but at the same time protects the rest of the state from them (Iannaccone 1970).

The separation of the city school district is manifested in various ways, including the large body of special legislation for the city schools. Although often viewed as restricting the city, this legislation is usually initiated by city school district employees to protect their autonomy from the municipal authorities, the urban public, and sometimes state agencies as well.

At the state legislative level, the legislature's own local unity norm contributes further to the autonomy of the urban school district and tends to reduce its rate of change. The legislative local unity norm may come into play whenever an education bill is proposed for a single local area or whenever one jurisdiction is the object of proposed legislation. The norm requires that local bills be agreed on by legislators representing the locality that is the target of the legislation.

In small localities the norm's counterpart may be a private member bill. In the larger city, however, the number of elected representatives from the city makes it necessary that substantial agreement from a large number of elected representatives, each elected by very different groups of residents, be obtained before passage. The consequences are heavily in favor of legislative colleague vote. This process was seen by Salisbury as a more significant influence on urban educational legislation than was the rural and suburban bias against the largest city (1959 and 1960).

State education departments are reflections of state educational interest groups, dominated by the profession's organizational leadership and largely separated from the urban educational bureaucracy (Iannaccone 1967 and 1972a). The basic separation of city and state politics is reflected in the avoidance of urban concerns by most state educational authorities (SEA). The traditional political treaty finds its minicounterpart here. SEA personnel recruitment is safe from urban educationist competition and the urban school district's autonomy is unimpaired by SEA activities.

Iannaccone (1972a) has suggested a sequence of political developments

that would tend to reduce the autonomy of urban school governments from the state. Based largely though not exclusively on his study of the New York State Legislature's handling of New York City's reorganization struggle, he suggests a sequence of urban educational crises resulting in financial demand on the state. In turn, the growth of such demands opens the way for coalitions of urban minority and economic elite groups excluded from urban school governance to demand an educational restructuring. Mazzoni (1971) found that the mounting local conflicts in Los Angeles between the governors of that school district and disaffected minorities led to the involvement of third parties, especially state representatives.

In sum, the separation of the politics of urban educational government increases political autonomy for each. The urban central office functions for its unit as a sort of state educational authority, resulting in a conservative tendency to maintain established power systems. The urban school district possesses greater political autonomy than the typical nonurban local educational authority (LEA) and greater autonomy than a constitutional law view would indicate, though some changes in this situation appear likely. This condition is bound to enhance the influence of whatever groups control or predominate in the urban politics of education (Iannaccone and Wiles 1971). The mere fact of that autonomy, however, does not explain whether the controlling groups are the local lay public, the municipal government, or urban educational employees.

Structure of Influence

One active line of research in the politics of urban education examines the city's massive educational bureaucracies. The urban crisis and the prominence of racial problems in education have understandably centered attention on urban education, long neglected in educational administration research. The focus on the urban bureaucracies is less obvious and therefore its significance should not be passed over lightly.

As indicated earlier, the recent development of research in the politics of education is less a consequence of theoretical developments than of broader sociopolitical factors. The centrality of the city's school bureaucracy is seen in the large number of comprehensive studies that have dealt with such urban school political issues as desegregation (Crain 1968), educational innovation (Gittell and Hollander 1968), and metropolitan educational politics in such cities as New York (Gittell 1967 and Rogers 1968), Chicago (Hazlett 1968 and London 1968), Boston (O'Connell 1968), Philadelphia (Freedman 1963), New Orleans (Crain and others 1966), San Francisco (Lee 1967), Toronto (Williams and Wiles 1973), and the comparative studies of Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Los Angeles, and New York (Iannaccone 1971). That centrality becomes more significant when one realizes that the last set, for

example, began with the school board as their central focus. As foreshadowed by Sayre's (1958) earlier observations on the question of who governs the urban school district, these studies generally point to the educational political employee systems.

The (until recently) increased autonomy of the urban school system has not fallen victim either to the mayor or to organized lay citizens. Although increased political conflicts in the urban school district and the involvement of third parties (Mazzoni 1971) have contributed to the probability that greater involvement of the mayor's office in educational policy is to be expected, there is evidence that mayors would prefer to stay out of these stormy waters (Saxe 1969).

Some of the means by which the central bureaucracy retains control of its personnel without intervention from the school board and chief administrator have been documented by research. For the employees involved, the political ideological significance of the school district's autonomy is that education is being kept free from political corruption. Griffiths and others (1962) noted that control of personnel licensure by the educational bureaucracy resulted in inbred conditions, discrimination against recent upwardly mobile social populations, and a dependence on internal system sponsor-protege relations. Even the conflicts between organized urban teacher unions and management organizations were bridged for united political defense when the bureaucracies were confronted with public efforts to obtain state legislation to make educational governance structures more responsive to voters (Usdan 1963 and Iannaccone 1967).

Finally, the combination of agenda control (Lee 1967), involvement of the board in minutiae (Smoley 1965, Crain 1968, and Cronin 1970), and de facto veto power over implementation of board policies (Wiles and Williams 1972) results in major political power. In effect, the urban educational bureaucracies have autonomy from state and municipal governments and the public, have significant impact on the selection of board members, screen information to the board, and may exercise an informal veto over the application of board policies.

Groups and Coalitions

The customary PTA influence structure supporting the educational officers in policy-making is found in large cities as well as in small LEAs. In addition, however, some of the research suggests that in certain large cities there exist established organizations concerned generally with watchdog functions. These organizations have a special role in or impact on the fiscal policy of urban education (Iannaccone 1971), but data are scanty. It would appear that over time these watchdog organizations function to support the educational bureaucracy's control of its employees and governance structures while limiting their demands for funds.

Politically significant for the educational bureaucracies are the coalitions with other municipal employee groups. These coalitions simultaneously maintain a pluralism of jurisdictional powers and support each other against city hall, the state, or "civilian review" types of governmental developments (Sayre and Kaufman 1960).

In passing, we note that the implications of such coalitions for the future of upwardly mobile social groups now out of the decisional process are unfavorable. On the one hand, these coalitions face common barriers across plural systems; each operates without interference from the others to control its jurisdiction and, in effect, all act together against newcomers. On the other hand, the coalitions combine against general governments—state or municipal—to prevent restructuring of their system of governance; thus political appeals beyond the particular municipal educational bureau are virtually impossible.

What Lowi (1969) described in *The End of Liberalism* is all too apparent in the urban politics of education. If, as we suggested earlier, there is the probability of greater involvement of general government in urban educational politics, we may ultimately see more open city educational politics than has characterized recent decades. A more immediate view, however, indicates that increased political conflict must come first.

Impact of Political Cultures and Cleavages

Notwithstanding the evidence of autonomous governments in urban education and the influence of their educational bureaucracies on policy, they are not unlimited power systems. They reflect, and indeed are manifestations of, dominant mixes of political cultures in each city. The Boston historical work of Katz (1971) suggests that persistent political cultural cleavages give some shape to the politics of urban education. Similar indications may be found in the work of Tyack (1969), and Cronin (1970) implies that cleavages dating from the nineteenth century persist in the present.

Litt's (1965) construct for political cultures in Massachusetts suggests that combinations and differences in political cultures related to governmental units such as the city and the state provide explanations for political decisions. The dimension of public- versus private-regardingness is a useful ideological aspect of such cultures and has been used to distinguish urban political systems (Banfield and Wilson 1963). Cistone (1971) applied the concept to test the hypothesis that a city's political orientation manifests itself in educational government. His findings supported his hypothesis and added further credence to the utility of political cultural concepts for explaining the politics of urban education. Minar (1964) concurs that sociocultural factors greatly affect local school system politics.

Research on urban school governance has suggested either that constitu-

tional variations (for example, fiscal independence/dependence, elected versus appointed school boards) are too remote from policy outputs to prove significant (James, Kelly, and Garms 1966) or that they show minor significance only as they reflect underlying ideologies of dominant political subcultures (Crain 1968). James and his colleagues concluded that cultural and sociological dimensions are more powerful predictors of policy outcomes.

In the largest cities Crain's (1968) findings not only indicate the significance of board members as change agents compared with the educational bureaus but also suggest that the municipal reform ideology contrasted with the urban machine ideology provides explanatory power for political activities. Similarly, the more recent synthesis of the five cities studied by the "Danforth" groups found utility in the concept of political culture— specifically, the difference between white-collar municipal reform cities and blue-collar traditional machine cities.

These differences do not speak to the issue of degree of school district employee control of urban educational politics. But they do distinguish between cities on the questions of which employees play leading political roles and what values they reflect (for example, the significance of examinations versus personalistic contacts for promotions). It would appear that linking political cultural factors, in particular ideology of governance, to political outputs is a promising direction for research in the politics of urban education.

Cycle of Change

The significance of school board member incumbent defeat and of chief school officer involuntary turnover is not the same in large urban districts as in small rural and suburban districts. However, the theory that social changes in the general population of the district confronted with maintenance of the status quo in the school would produce political action to change the school appears supported in the case of New York City. Changes occurred in the structure of school governance rather than in the persons involved, and in the offices rather than in the office holders.

In the case of New York City, Lowi (1964) had led the way in his longitudinal study, *At the Pleasure of the Mayor*. There is ample evidence that the eras of reform mayors were the only periods when the structure of New York City school governance was also changed. Studies relating changes in urban society to political action altering municipal government through educational political changes may be another fruitful direction.

Summary

The recent studies in the politics of local education suggest that the context of sociopolitical subcultures—especially in their ideology toward government —may be a fruitful line of inquiry for explaining political decisions in edu-

cation. The inclusion of such a contextual dimension is likely to facilitate comparative educational and general political studies.

The evidence at hand seems to move the answer to the question of who controls schools increasingly toward office holders and professional groups. Other things being equal, this statement is likely to stand up best in large political units, particularly where there is great similarity between the local educational bureaucracy and the general political leadership on political ideology (especially the public- and private-regarding, municipal reform ideology). For many purposes, the politics of urban LEAs is significantly different from the other LEAs. Much of this difference appears to depend on how each is related to the state.

6

State Politics of Education

Education policy provides authoritative direction to the allocation of resources, including the legitimacy of law and its delegation for school operations. Identifying actors, describing influence structures and processes, and explaining the ideological biases and their results are matters that engage researchers in the state politics of education. The early works of Bailey and others (1962) and of Masters, Salisbury, and Eliot (1964) were primarily concerned with identifying the key decision-makers in the politics of education in eleven states. Their descriptions and insights provided a base for much of the subsequent work in the state politics of education.

The Central Role of the State

The centrality of the state in the politics of education is not only a fact of constitutional law: it is also reflected in tensions involving two intergovernmental interfaces—the state with local educational authorities and the state with federal policy. The local district-state interface has been apparent throughout this century, particularly in the areas of state funding, reorganizing local district boundaries, and local and professional licensing.

We know much less about the interface of state educational politics with

the federal level than with the local, though recent studies of the implementation of federal policies have further highlighted the centrality of the state politics of education. The history of federal-state relations in the politics of education is one of episodic crisis intervention by the federal government in roughly fifty-year cycles. Such a condition is hardly conducive to systematic, theoretically based research. The federal-state politics of education displays slight systematic, let alone theory-guided, attention. What such research does contribute, however, is an increasing awareness of the diversity of state educational politics and the influence of that diversity on state implementation—leading, as some might understandably say, to subversion of federal policy plans and programs (Wirt and Kirst 1972).

To date each state's educational apparatus and educational politics have been the filters through which the vast bulk of federal educational action has had to flow in reaching the local school district. Even in some large cities, where the existence of direct informal and very powerful linkages between the federal and local urban governments suggests a bypass of the state, it appears that a traditional divorce between urban and state agencies was already embedded in the state politics of education. Without a constitutional revolution in educational governance, the state will continue to be needed to implement federal educational policy with the implied power to modify it.

The diversity among states in their educational politics provides additional evidence of the centrality of the state. One is aware of variations in fiscal matters, the nature of state educational authorities, and other factors in the diversity argument, which is even more powerful when it is realized that federal programs display state-by-state diversity. The common aspects of federal legislation, federal guidelines, and a single federal administration of programs do not prevent the influence of state diversity from coming through and making itself felt on the character of federal programs as these reach the local schools and pupils (Murphy 1973).

Until recently federal aid was used to help state or local governments accomplish their objectives (Sundquist 1968). Since the 1862 Morrill Act education has been an exception, and federal aid has usually taken a categorical rather than a general character. Nevertheless, the long cycles between national educational crises demanding federal intervention (for instance, from 1862 to the 1917 Vocational Education Act, and then to the late 1960s) display a drift toward effective noncategorical aid within the broad areas supported as the state-based constituencies gain control of federal operations. As Kirst (1972) pointed out in *Delivery Systems for Federal Aid to Disadvantaged Children*, various forces work to produce cooperation, a sense of identity, and, indeed, cooptation between federal educational administrators in given program areas and their state counterparts. As a consequence Kirst concludes, "We need more research on the capability and performance of the

White House and OMB in oversight of categorical grant administration."

The data and experience to date suggest an absence of significant federal influence at the point of application of the federal policy. The federal effort focuses on policy inputs while very little attention is given to delivery systems. (The combination of diverse interests necessary for the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965 and the coalitions needed to continue federal funding provide one explanation for the slight federal presence in delivery systems.) Nor is it proved that federal control of delivery systems is politically possible in American education, even if desirable. Currently, federal categorical programs are filtered through the dual system of a particular state and a unique local administration. The mix of political cultures characteristic of each state leaves its imprint on the educational politics—federal, state or local—of each state.

Within states it can be argued that regardless of the legal constitutional document, the politics of education displays a constitution resting on a sort of dual sovereignty and the tensions produced by that sovereignty. In the politics of education the state is central though usually not dominant. This is the case in states where the religion of localism is rampant (as in Massachusetts) and where it is not (as in California). Hence, the legal aphorism that "education is a state function locally administered" may be parallelled by the political conclusion that the state is the center of the larger world of educational politics itself.

As discussed earlier, political beliefs often have greater impact than the written document or the "real" constitution. However, the constitutional fact requires that state law, state lawmakers, other brokers of state policy influence, and state governmental agencies must be dealt with by the local school district's policy-makers even in states where the highest degree of delegation and decentralization of educational decision-making exists. The point is that in such cases, the state policy is needed to provide for and maintain local autonomy. Similarly, the state politics of education is central to the implementation side of federal policy. A federal politics of education that ignores this is sterile in practice and provincial in theory.

The Authoritative State System

Ultimate authority in education resides with the legislature and governor. State courts, state boards, and other state agencies are also significant; often their constitutional and legal significance is not matched by their political significance. Legislative and gubernatorial actions are necessary to put laws into effect and to allocate monies—the primary outcomes of the state politics of education. Since the control of law, subordinate regulation, and funding decisions are its major objectives, the politics of education at the state level has a legislative center.

The governor's role in education is modest, but it is larger than was suggested in some of the earlier studies in the politics of education. Milstein and Jennings (1972) have begun to correct this weakness in the work of Bailey and others (1962), Masters, Salisbury, and Eliot (1964), and Iannaccone (1967). However, even that correction suggests two conclusions limiting gubernatorial leadership. A structural weakness exists in the lack of educational expertise or control of experts in gubernatorial staffs, and gubernatorial leadership in education exists as much as it does largely as a result of the governor's power over the state budget.

Consequently, the governor's leadership in education is most often nonexistent, and when it does exist it appears sporadically, reflecting the idiosyncratic character of particular governors and/or educational crises in specific states. Such irregular occurrences of gubernatorial leadership in the politics of education accentuate the lack of gubernatorial control of state education departments rather than the general leadership of governors in the educational politics of states.

In general, state politics of education indicate that a common stance toward social issues and areas, rather than a specific stance toward education, is found at the legislative level (McIsaac 1966). This observation does not disregard the existence of a few legislators who have acquired specialized knowledge, interest, and the regard of their colleagues in the area of education.

This lack of a distinct politics of education at the state legislative level is nowhere more apparent and perhaps no more pathetic in significance than in the area of urban-state educational relations. Even the highly politicized and bitterly contested issues of state legislative reorganization of New York City's school district were largely fought, won, and lost not in the education committees but in the New York City committees of the New York State Legislature.

The role of state school boards is roughly similar in most states. Bailey and his colleagues (1962) identified this as a buffer role protecting a degree of separateness for educational agencies and the state politics of education from the major bodies and offices of state government rather than as the role of initiating state educational policy. Sroufe's (1969) subsequent research denied the concept of the state board as "a political actor within the system." State school board members generally are a remarkably homogeneous population of higher than average social status with a record of supporting traditional education interest groups. They expect to lead neither the state education authority nor the local education authorities (Koerner 1968). Finally, their very elections have been characterized as nonevents (Sroufe 1969).

State departments of education (SDEs) are also usually undistinguishable

from the traditional education interest groups, the core of established educational interest coalitions. Conant (1964) considered them too much a part of the educational establishment, "willing tools" of education association interests and clientele. Despite some changes since 1964, his statement seems to be still supported by the data at hand (Buckley 1969). Indeed, on at least one occasion a state commissioner was embarrassed by misplacing his employees as an official part of the state interest group's coalitional executive committee (Iannaccone 1967). Nor has the advent of federal programs significantly altered this role (Campbell and Layton 1969 and Iannaccone 1972).

The state politics of education is more legislative than executive, protected and buffered from the rest of state politics by state boards rather than led by them. State education departments play a supportive role in traditional interest groups that have a stake in maintaining the status quo rather than in initiating change. The politics of state education is a legislative game influenced to a large degree by traditionally organized coalitions of established educational interest groups. At the core of these groups are the organizational leadership cadres of professional associations.

The Major State Subsystems

No governmental structure or political process is neutral. Any political system is biased in favor of some actor's or interest's probable success in placing its demands on the agenda of government. The interests that currently gain from such biases may not have been the ones that developed the political system. In fact, they may have once been the very interest against which the political system was designed to discriminate in some previous period.

Schattschneider (1960) views the universal fact of political bias as the other face of political organization. Lowi (1969) has noted an American pattern granting a major voice over governmental decisions in their areas to established groups overwhelmingly committed to the maintenance of existing arrangements. Groups with historic access to their specialized governmental units and agencies reap advantages from their positions and have a far better base from which to shape policies than do groups seeking to alter policy values (Housego 1972 and Selinger and Goldhammer 1972). Indeed, the latter groups need to achieve reorganization of policy structures in order to accomplish their policy objectives.

Freeman (1965) identified a triad of legislative elements as the central subsystem in the federal legislative process. All three elements are found at the state level: the relevant legislative committees (education and finance, usually), the organized interest groups dominated by the professional associations, and the appropriate executive agency—the state dapartment. His-

torically, the dominant partner in that triad has been the educational interest groups, coopting state department employees and usually able to persuade the legislative committees into behavior not unlike that of local school boards.

It is not surprising, therefore, to see accelerated political efforts at the state level to change not only policy but policy-making roles and structures. These efforts include attempts to improve the capacity of state education departments; to reorder the relations between state boards, the legislature(s), and the governor; and to restructure established interest groups.

In addition, the legitimacy of the claim to expertise by such groups is increasingly in question. The legitimacy of traditional educational interest groups may be seen as including resources of supposed expertise, semiofficial and official status in state policy-making, and direct service to state education policy-makers. Most important has been the control of information needed by legislators, especially including advantages in quality, quantity, and political skill to marshal information to achieve their objectives (Iannaccone 1966 and 1967).

An interest group engages in educational lobbying to show the concerned policy-maker how a policy desired by the interest group squares with the policy-maker's philosophy, values, or principles. Information can also enter into social exchanges for interest group desires. Fed to specific policy-makers tactically, it can enhance their public image or their standing with colleagues (Masters, Salisbury, and Eliot 1964 and Iannaccone 1967). Information becomes almost an incalculable premium toward legislative influence, putting legislators in one another's debt. Thus, analysis justifying a desired course of legislative action may be the most important tool of persuasion in modern government.

The general public saliency of an education issue may limit the influence of established education groups over its outcome. We may distinguish between issues salient to traditional influentials and those salient to the general public. Bauer, Pool, and Dexter (1963) noted congressional handling of issues varies along these lines. When an issue is of low importance to a legislator, he is more apt to go along with legislative or committee leadership or the lobby.

Iannaccone (1967) proposed that the flow of information into a legislature on a given issue should be analyzed as to its quantity, scientific quality, and unity of control. Such information can be examined for its timeliness and its relevance to policy-makers. Interest representatives who fail to link their communications to the values and concerns of lawmakers run the risk that even the most valid data are irrelevant to the policy process.

The systemic linkages between established interest group coalitions and the legislative committees has proved a strategically useful entry point for research in the politics of education at the state level. The seniority system

for legislative committee leadership and the role of legislative leaders (for example, majority and minority leaders and chairmen of key committees such as rules and, above all, finance) provide a significant context for the legislative process triad and at times even modify the dominance of one element in the triad over another. Generally, however, the legislative process in state educational politics is found in the interdependence of the committees, the state department, and the lobby. Usually the lobby initiates policy.

The lobby, which usually predominates at the state level, deserves particular attention from students of the politics of education. The educational lobby has provided not only major advocacy for increased state aid to education but also support for protecting its definition of professional leadership of education in various areas, especially governance and certification. Historically, the core leadership of the lobby has been found in the coalition of teacher organizations, school administrator associations, state board associations, and state parent-teachers organizations. The coalition leadership has customarily fallen to the educational administration subculture. More recently some fragmentation of the lobby has occurred because teacher associations—hostile to, or at least suspicious of, administrators—have initiated their own political leadership. Often, but not always, additional interests find a place in the coalition. The state department of education usually plays a supportive role in these coalitions.

The coalitions' "lay" groups are valuable in presenting an image of commitment to the needs of children rather than one of interest in the profession's enhancement. State school board associations provide the respect of elected public officials for coalitions when dealing with legislatures. The state department of education's low visibility provides the appearance of governmental impartiality; the department also supplies data bearing on issues for legislators. In turn, the coalition can initiate policy for the state department that if overtly initiated by the state bureau might be regarded by legislators as empire building.

The image of being above politics is enhanced by the traditional coalition's makeup. The locus of political compromise outside the legislature and prior to legislative consideration of bills reduces not only the conflicts at the legislative discussion stage but the effects of elected legislators on outcomes.

Variations among states have been found when focusing attention on the system of linkage structures between lobbies and legislatures. These variations appear to be related to variations in the state's political subcultures and in the episodic nature of interventions in the customary state politics of education by the major state political actors, legislative leaders, and the governor. Iannaccone (1967) developed a four-state typology of linking structures correlated to legislative effects and appraisal. This typology is displayed in table 2.

TABLE 2

TYPOLOGY OF LINKAGE STRUCTURES CORRELATED TO LEGISLATIVE EFFECTS AND APPRAISAL

Structure of Key Link / *Correlates*	I DISPARATE (Locally based)	II MONOLITHIC (Statewide)	III FRAGMENTED (Statewide)	IV SYNDICAL (Statewide)
LOBBY POWER:				
Prevention	Yes	Yes	Mixed Yes and No	Yes
Initiation	No	Yes	Mixed Yes and No	Yes
LEGISLATOR SENTIMENT	Warm and Paternal to Teachers	Warm, Undifferentiated	Differentiated: Critical to Administrators: Warm to Teachers	Warm, not Critical
LOCUS OF ACCOMMODATION	Legislature	Apex of Monolith	Legislature	The Group of Syndics

SOURCE: Laurence Iannaccone, *Politics in Education* (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1967), p. 57.

The work of Zeigler (1965) and Zeigler and Baer (1969) supports the conclusion that the lobby is significant. Education groups were seen as powerful because of their large membership and the "sacred cow" nature of education, a finding congruent with Iannaccone's (1967) analysis. In addition, variations are noted in the state's political subculture as reflected in the strength of the party. The nonpartisan coalition is most powerful when unified in a low party-power state (Zeigler and Baer 1969).

Political Culture and School Politics

The overriding influence of the state's political subcultural mix has several dimensions. The power of the party itself is a reflection of the mix of political subcultures. More important in the politics of education is the balance of power resulting from political subcultures, as these provide an ethos of commitment toward localism or reform politics.

The locally disparate states in the politics of education where the "religion of localism" reigns are those in which the reform ideology has been limited (for example, Massachusetts). One would predict a rough correlation between city mayor municipal governments and the religion of localism. Similarly, small rural states should display more of the locally disparate pattern. Finally, regionality should provide another dimension between the common generalizations concerning the state politics of education and unique state patterns.

The common legislative center of the state politics of education and the dominant role of education lobby coalitions are mitigated by elements of regionality, the particular state's mix of political subcultures, and the element of social time indicated by the four-stage developmental construct (Iannaccone 1967) in figure 1. Both the four-stage typology in table 2 and the developmental construct attempt to move in the direction of theory at a middle range between isolated individual states and the entire national level.

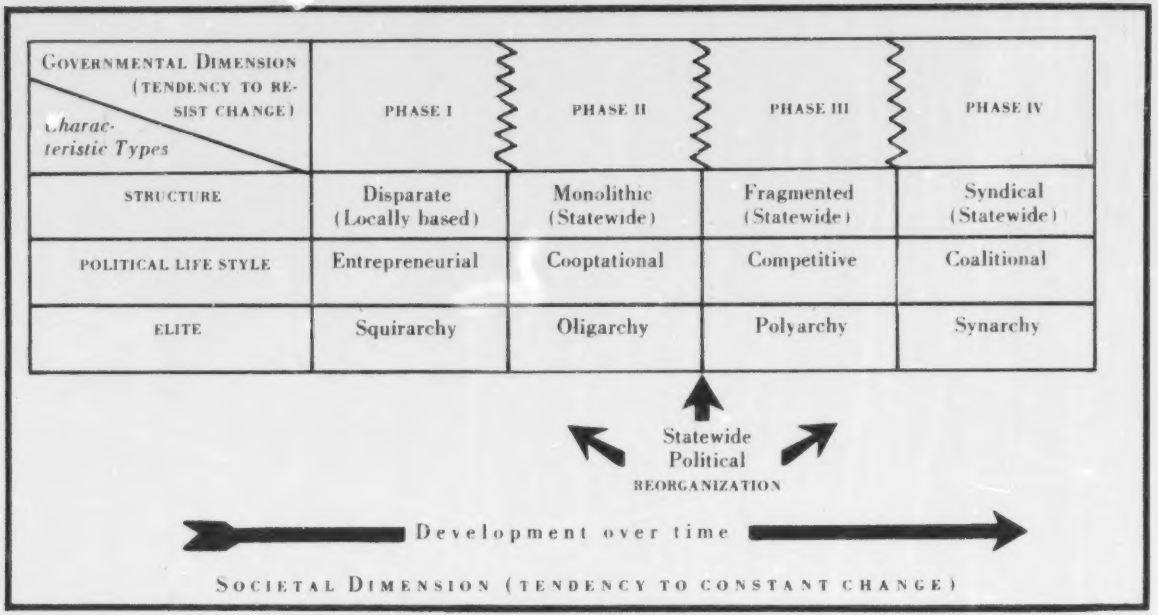
Research along each of these dimensions is likely to provide understanding of the state politics of education that neither seeks to find things in common across all states nor surrenders to the argument of uniqueness that dissolves all attempts at public understanding in the obscurity of private inside knowledge. Methodologically, it offers hope that something better than isolated case studies, without the level of abstraction that finds nothing but diversity, is probable in the state politics of education.

Summary

Subject to constitutional limitations, the power of the state in educational affairs is absolute. As an instrument of the state, the local school district serves as the administrative agency through which state policy is effected. The centrality of the state in education is not only a fact of constitutional

FIGURE 1

INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIETAL AND GOVERNMENTAL DIMENSIONS RESULTING IN CHANGE IN THE STATE POLITICS OF EDUCATION



SOURCE: Laurence Iannaccone, *Politics in Education* (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1967), p. 77.

law; it is also apparent in tensions involving two governmental interfaces, that of the state and local educational authorities and that of the state and federal educational policy.

Differing patterns in the style, structure, and output of educational politics among the states (and regions) may be explained largely as manifestations of differing dominant political cultures among the states. Moreover, divergent political cultures within a single state typically compete for ascendency, and that competition is reflected in the tone and character of educational politics.

Despite the differentiating influences, certain characteristics are shared among the states with respect to the politics of education at the state level. Each state, through its constitutional system, judicial decisions, and executive and legislative actions, provides the context within which the politics of education is conducted. Although the grant programs of the federal government play a significant part in public education, each state still exercises major influence over the schools within its jurisdiction. In varying degrees, all states are alike in their pressing need to resolve problems related to educational financing, militancy of school staffs, political mobilization of various constituencies, intergovernmental relationships, and the like. With regard to the relative influence of elected officials in educational politics at the state level, the evidence seems to indicate that in virtually every state educational politics is a legislative rather than an executive game. And that game is influenced to a large extent by organized coalitions of established educational interest groups.

The legislative game in the politics of education at the state level is tempered by regionality, political cultures and orientations, and inexorable social change over time. Research into the dynamic linkages among these elements would likely prove helpful in revealing the similarities and differences among and within the states.

7

Federal Politics of Education

The low quality and relative scarcity of scientifically significant research in the politics of education at the federal level may be attributed to several factors. First is the American historic constitutional reality: education is a state function. The gradual increase of federal influence on educational policy-making since World War II has only slowly led to the realization that the traditional American politics of education has been changing, with a possible realignment of the federal system among educational governments (Campbell and Bunnell 1963).

The second factor contributing to a paucity of research at this level is the strong ideological tradition behind the constitutional reality. Emotional support is strong for the continuance of education as a state function locally administered, even to the extent of developing a folklore of local school control (Campbell 1959). Between 1862 and 1963 general aid to education had been considered thirty-six times by Congress, yet not one of the general aid bills passed (Munger 1966).

Third, despite the available federal informational bases about educational operations, the form of such information and the categories used have historically been more useful to school people dealing with fiscal demands on

state and local political agencies than to federal policy-makers initiating changed policies.

Furthermore, the federal information base on education operations has not resulted in the development of a significant theory-guided research literature. The information may be usefully viewed as social bookkeeping in education. However, its nature and the categories in which such public data are usually found have traditionally functioned to help schoolmen and their organizations deal with local and state public officials, especially in fiscal matters. Even the creation of the National Education Association's research bureau in the early 1920s reflected and reinforced a state focus in its initial mandate and subsequent work. Finally, the federal politics of education displays relatively long periods of quiescence punctuated by major changes following episodic political crises. Previously, education has been a minor federal function. Given these conditions, a research literature in the federal politics of education was unlikely until recently.

The past ten years have witnessed the beginning of a trickle of research in the federal politics of education. The passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 and the issues raised by the problems of evaluating its federal impact have contributed greatly to this beginning. What is needed for the continuation of research and knowledge in the federal politics of education are more case studies concerned with federal policy development like those of Bailey and Mosher (1968) and Munger and Fenno (1962). Similarly, studies of the effects of such programs (for example, Orfield 1969 and Meranto 1967) as well as studies of the implementation of federal programs (for example, Murphy 1971 and Berke and Kirst 1972) will help to illuminate the interrelatedness of the federal politics of education with other levels of government.

If the federal impact on educational policy-making or finance continues or grows, so will the research contribution. Perhaps more important are heuristic designs that will organize the modest existing research, synthesize it, suggest directions for future research, and prepare the way for predictive theory in the federal politics of education.

In order to accomplish these tasks a broad, systematic approach to the study of the politics of education at the federal level is needed. To define our field of interest, it is important to note that the system of federal educational politics is at the intersection of two other larger systems: (1) the politics of education viewed vertically to include the state and local levels of educational governments, and (2) the broad federal system of government concerned with all federal policies.

Easton (1965a and 1965b) asserts that an artificial rather than a natural systems approach offers greater utility for the development of empirically oriented political theory. Operationally, however, he uses a combination of

both as he makes subsidiary decisions about subconcepts in his heuristic framework.

In the absence of theory or a theoretically unified conceptual system for examining the federal politics of education, a set of conceptual categories are used here that reflect Easton's framework (modified by the results of empirical studies, partly to reflect natural political systems). Four focal points are involved:

1. the inputs of the political system, especially as these consist of variables from the environment or contextual world of the political system that research has found to change federal education policy
2. the conversion process, either judicial or legislative processes, with particular concern for changing balances of power among three subsystems in the legislative process: (a) congressional committees, (b) organized interest groups, and (c) the administrative agency
3. the administrative process
4. the outputs, outcomes, and feedback effects of the legislative process

Inputs to the System

The federal political system of education exists within a sociopolitical context producing inputs to that system. Major changes in the sociopolitical context of the political system usually precede the federal legislative process of decisions reallocating values in public education. The last quarter century in the United States has seen the federal government influenced by the climate of the Cold War as was no other American government unit—state or local. This climate contributed to expanded federal policy developments in three educational areas: curricular revision (especially in mathematics and science), poverty, and race.

The input of the Cold war and the role of the United States as a world power had a direct influence on federal policies changing the curriculum to improve the teaching and enhance the importance of mathematics and science. Just as a shift from client-centered to academic-oriented research in education took place during the last two decades (Dershimer and Iannaccone 1973), so did private and public higher education interest groups drift apart with growing conflict. These differing orientations were eventually institutionalized in differences between the National Science Foundation (NSF) and the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) orientations (Marsh and Gortner 1962).

A number of elements may be listed as providing a changing cultural context in the areas of poverty and race. In addition to the World War II reaffirmation of democracy's commitment to people, as contrasted with the extreme racism of the Nazi opponent, the orientation toward the United Nations constituted a factor in the social and political context.

A few of the significant input variables in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision illustrate one component in the sort of framework suggested earlier by Easton and the significance of the general governmental climate in examining the federal politics of education. Earlier court cases, while retaining the doctrine of separation, increased demands for educational equality and set the stage for the Supreme Court as it undertook to make the first desegregation decision. Greater respect for the results of social science research, if not for those sciences, was a necessary condition for the effective challenge to the traditional doctrine made by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Berman 1966).

Finally we may note that changes in the composition of Congress are a significant input to the legislative process (Munger and Fenno 1962 and Sundquist 1968). Meranto (1967) cites three major changes in the legislative system that were necessary for the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965. These were (a) alteration of party ratios on the House education committees, (b) changes from Barden to Powell as chairman, and (c) enlargement of the House Rules Committee. The historical events of previous similar legislative efforts that precede legislation and policy changes are a second major component of inputs to the system. The reactions to previous efforts, especially learning from experience, have been cited by Bailey and Mosher (1968) as important to the passage of ESEA.

The Conversion Process

The conversion of inputs to policy outcomes may be seen in legislative, judicial, and administrative processes. Although some of the much needed research on the judicial process has been begun (Peltason 1955, Krislov 1965, and Snyder 1958), considerably more is needed before judicial processes will be usefully integrated as a conversion process in the political system. So far, research in the federal politics of education has not done so.

The legislative process may better serve to illustrate the conversion of inputs to policy for the federal politics of education, since attention in the research literature has thus far been directed to the legislative step. Munger and Fenno (1962) examined the legislative step through 1962; Meranto (1967) and Bailey and Mosher (1968) focused on the passage of ESEA, as well as on the administrative step.

Examination of the changing federal political system using Freeman's (1965) analysis of the federal legislative process suggests the existence of a triad of influence and mutual dependence as central to the federal politics of education. This triad consists of the appropriate congressional committees, the customary coalitions of educational interest groups, and the relevant administrative agency.

The White House is viewed as the major external influence on this triadic legislative policy-making system. The president has the ability to generate public support for his legislation, thereby directing attention toward congressional committees. Also as an input, the president suggests that his laws and programs be adopted by Congress. Bailey and Mosher (1968) report that President Johnson first spoke of the ESEA in his state of the union message, putting it as his first priority. At the legislative step, President Johnson put great pressure on Congress to pass ESEA.

In the administrative agency the president has the power of appointment: Francis Keppel was appointed to engage in aggressive action in support of the education bill. Directives from the president can specifically alter policies established by the Office of Education. Thus President Johnson intervened to restore ESEA funds cut off for Chicago and altered the power of the Office of Education to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1965 (Hughes and Hughes 1972).

The president does have some influence over the output and feedback phases: he can interpret the success or failure of the measure. President Nixon's attempt to impose a moratorium on court-ordered busing as a means for integration is a clear indication of feedback to the court. But all of the president's influence is not enough to ensure legislation. On the other hand, his influence often is unnecessary for the passage of legislation, and sometimes he opposes legislation. Most of the presidents in the past fifty years have supported educational bills, few of which passed. President Kennedy had his educational bill as a major part of his program. President Nixon vetoed the budget of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which included greater appropriations for education, only to have his veto overridden.

Central to the legislative process is the dynamic tension between the three mutually dependent elements. For education, these are the congressional committees, the executive agency (that is, the Office of Education), and the organized interest groups. Usually, the organized interest groups in any area of public policy development tend to become the leading element in this triad (Lowi 1969). This leadership may be punctuated by episodic crises, particularly as the legislative triad in a given public policy area drifts into increased isolation from the changing social and political context (Iannaccone 1967).

In the normal course of events the organized interest groups acquire major influence over the administrative agency and become the leading element in the legislative triad. Their influence increases because of their control of information and the strength of their members, who are the agency's regular clientele (Cronin and Greenberg 1969, Iannaccone 1967, and Lowi 1969). Such was the case on the eve of the passage of ESEA (Bailey and Mosher

1968 and Hughes and Hughes 1972).

The drift into increased isolation from the societal context inevitably produces conflict and public distrust. Sundquist (1968) found significance in the appointments of Gardner and Keppel, recognized critics of education, as an antecedent condition for the creation of a new interest group coalition and the passage of ESEA. This new coalition shifted the relative weight of influence in the legislative triad from the narrow traditional lobby's leadership to the initiative of the federal agency (Hughes and Hughes 1972) as it was restructured to play its new role (Bailey and Mosher 1968).

The first Nixon election and his administration's stance on many educational issues raise the question whether the changed balance of leadership in the legislative triad is reverting to its former condition. The success of the full funding effort in overriding the president's veto suggests the possibility that a politically successful restructuring of the lobby and a return to dominance within the legislative-policy system may be under way. If so, this may be usefully viewed as the shift back toward an earlier steady state in the system.

The Administrative Process

Bailey and Mosher (1968) and Orfield (1969) have directed attention to the administrative process following the legislative process. The administrative step may be viewed as a subsystem with inputs from Congress, the president, and interest groups: decision-making units within the Office of Education (Hughes and Hughes 1972), which connects with the local and state educational units, which in turn are affected by the policy (Berke and Kirst 1972); and its own outputs of finalized policy and evaluation of these policies on the target units (Orfield 1969 and Crain 1968).

Bailey and Mosher (1968) have examined the implementation of ESEA and Orfield (1969) the Office of Education's carrying out of the 1965 Civil Rights Act. In their report based partly on their experience with the administration of ESEA, Hughes and Hughes (1972) have also focused on the serious internal political infighting and decision-making that is part of the administrative process.

Outputs, Outcomes, and Feedback

The outputs from the system can be divided into court decisions, the actual laws of Congress, and the policies developed by the Office of Education, as well as outcomes that may better be seen as evaluations of the effects of the programs.

A number of Office of Education reports have focused on the educational effects of the different programs, and some research has been directed toward the outcomes of programs. *Federal Aid to Education*, edited by Berke and Kirst (1972), reports on the impact of state political systems on the outputs

of NDEA and ESEA titles. The nationalizing impacts of the NSF and NDEA are reported by Campbell and Bunnell (1963). Reciprocal and countervailing responses are noted by Campbell and Layton (1969), who observe a growing and unrealistic expectation for educational output.

Iannaccone (1972b) suggested that one outcome of the effort to use the schools as instruments of social change through direct federal programs is an increasing gap between pseudo policy-makers and day-to-day operators in education. Porter's work on the politics of resource mobilization by local school districts indicates countervailing conditions and ideologies (Porter and Warner 1973 and Porter and others 1973). The fundamental organizational structures and history of urban school districts in particular foreshadow the failure of much of the federal government's apparent intentions for education (Iannaccone 1971).

It is easier to conceptualize the evaluation of outcomes separate from feedback than it is to separate them in the world of educational politics. Cohen (1970) points out that the findings of research have political relevance and therefore are elements in political conflict. Iannaccone (1972b) argues that the act of doing research or of evaluation is in and of itself a social instrument or weapon, a political action in the politics of education, thus challenging the separation of outcome from feedback once that outcome has been researched.

Who Governs in the Federal Politics of Education?

Our brief analysis suggests that a combination of forces and conditions must be examined to answer that question. These include the changing contextual environment of inputs to the political system, with some evidence that internal developments of the political system create increasing isolation between it and its environment. Such isolation demands that the system change drastically whether by judicial or legislative processes.

The White House, its occupants, and their orientation have a major impact on the legislative and judicial processes, especially through the appointive power. The legislative process—with its customary balance of forces in a dynamic triad of Congressional committees and lobby and agency influences on the process—needs to be taken into account. Particular attention is directed to the issue of whether this balance of forces is undergoing abrupt, episodic, and crisis revision or is displaying its customary steady state.

Administrative operations also require attention. The assumption that policy outputs of the legislative process will automatically be followed by universal, consistent, and legislatively intended action ignores the administrative agency's own structure, ideology, and habitual practices. In the case of education, federal policy must also run the gauntlet of state and local politics and administrations.

Finally, the question Who governs? becomes a political act in the feedback process once it is asked and as it is answered by evaluation of programs. Obviously, the question is not easily answered, but we are not without some understanding, even given the present state of the art in educational politics.

Education and most other areas of public policy have an uneven saliency for the White House, the general public, and most federal policy-makers. The 1960s have witnessed an increased politicization of educational issues for the federal government. It is significant that this increased federal involvement began with the courts, not the presidency. As Freeman (1965) notes, using the Indian Bureau in the Roosevelt years as his illustration, the infrequent involvement of the White House, when it occurs, has significant impact not only on the resultant federal policy direction but on the equilibrium of the particular federal policy arena, including the triad of legislative forces. In contrast, education holds a continuing interest and saliency for the regular partners in the triad of influence on educational legislative policy-making: the education committees, the Office of Education, and the education lobbies.

Hence, one answer to the question is found in the degree to which the educational issues of the day display high or low public saliency and politicization. This answer in turn may be interdependent with the question of where the nation is on the cycle of high-low politicization in the area of education. Given the increased politicization of education at all levels of government in the sixties and seventies, one should expect greater White House attention than in the period prior to the 1960s.

We should also expect to see continuing struggles, not only over federal policy direction in education but also over such issues as federal educational governance structures, policy structures and influence implicit (and to an extent explicit) in the passage of ESEA, the regrouping of the educational lobbies, and the overriding of the Nixon veto. These issues document the meaning of the immediate past and dimly prophesy the next era in the federal politics of education. In addition, at least one of the next steps in the research of the federal politics of education—and we believe it to be a significant direction—is suggested by this model and discussion.

8

Judgments and Recommendations

The development of a field of research in the politics of education during the past decade is essentially a response to political pressures, problems, and issues in educational governance and policy-making. This development is not primarily the product of the new conceptualization or methodological changes in political science during the past two decades. It is, nevertheless, heavily indebted to a number of political scientists who have made significant contributions to it. These include Stephen K. Bailey, Robert A. Dahl, Thomas H. Eliot, Marilyn Gittell, David W. Minar, Robert H. Salisbury, and Harmon Zeigler, as well as others.

The interest displayed by such political scientists in the politics of education is principally a response to the need for policy development, decisions, and action in educational governance rather than to the lure of theoretical development. Consequently, both theoretical and methodological contributions stemming from the politics of education as made by political scientists have been more a byproduct than a result of planning. Understandably, they are less powerful than they might have been.

Nor were the contributions of educational administration researchers the the result of research in theory from that area. These researchers also were

often moved more by the growing sense of political crises, problems, and issues in education than by the felt need to produce theory or develop methodology for the study of educational politics.*

Nevertheless, for now, it is clear that the need for political action and the need of field operations rather than conceptual developments from the universities remain the primary stimuli for the recent growth of the politics of education as a field of inquiry. It cannot be overstressed that the development of a field of research devoted to the political processes or system of a single institution will inevitably be more akin to engineering than to physics and more concerned with practice and policy than science, however *relatively* theoretical or scientific one period of its research may be in comparison with other periods (Dershimer and Iannaccone 1973).

It is easy to criticize the methodological and conceptual weaknesses of such a field, or to note the absence of large bodies of tested hypotheses and an inadequate commitment to correct those weaknesses. Only those who have experienced the practitioner's problems while having internalized criteria of scientific requirements from academic training can know intimately the continuing frustration of seeking to make scholarly contributions and at the same time to help those who have the duty of operating public services.

In the process of such breast beating or unthinking criticism there is the danger that the solid achievements of a decade will be overlooked or underestimated. To do so would fail to capitalize on the guidance past accomplishments offer for the future direction of research in the politics of education. In view of the brief period involved (slightly more than a decade) and the virtual absence of federal funding, the small support of private foundations and the work of a handful of researchers coming to education from political science or to political science from education have produced much more than might reasonably have been expected.

The productivity of the politics of education compares well with other areas of educational research where more funds were spent and many more people worked. That productivity and comparably useful payoff are less a tribute to the quality of the researchers involved than a result of the fact that they have not worked in the areas of least variance. They have begun to attack an area that is likely to have significance precisely because it is what has heretofore been covered by the concept, if not the phrase, "other things being equal" in traditional educational research.

* Somewhat of an exception to this statement may be found in Iannaccone and the recent developments of the Special Interest Group in the Politics of Education of the American Educational Research Association under the recent leadership of Mike Milstein and Michael W. Kirst. Perhaps this monograph will also help to correct this imbalance.

Current Domains, Issues, and Problems

Where virtually nothing existed a decade ago, we now have a small but respectable body of knowledge. The politics of education can be identified as a field of research. While its boundaries are far from easy to determine, its internal domains can be more precisely identified and delineated, and we can begin to see its interactions with other fields. The identification of such probable interactions can move to studies that will make the politics of education useful to people concerned with educational policy-making and operations and to researchers seeking to answer meaningful questions in the politics of education and related areas of knowledge, including educational administration and general public policy-making.

Several dominant themes provide clues to the nature of educational politics. These in turn help to identify barriers and constraints in planned change and suggest natural change processes in educational governance. Finally, we know something of where the central issues are in the politics of education. Highlighted specifically during the past decade, these issues may be considered as perennially present, giving underlying shape to the politics of education.

The more pervasive and perennial issues engaging the attention of the politics of education are those of professional certification control, school district reorganization, finance formulae, resource distribution between private (usually parochial) and public schools, and resource distribution between urban and other schools at the state level. The significance of these issues is that, despite American ideological beliefs about the goodness of education, we must not expect schools to do what the rest of society cannot. The issue is misconceived when stated as, "Dare the school build a new social order?" Instead the question is, "Dare the social order build a new school?"

In this regard, present research indicates two relevant ideas. First, the school will largely reflect the social order, though imperfectly; in that imperfection, there is room for action or reaction, and public policy in education will decide which. Second, school people, their organized interest groups, and our representatives will be concerned with their interests. These cannot be assumed to be the general public interests all the time. Nor can the converse be assumed. The politics of education is instrumental for narrow, parochial, and self-serving orientations and for broad, universal, and altruistic orientations, too.

The major political struggles of the last decade or two reflect perennial issues but currently include the school as an instrument for racial integration, the more recent clash of value similarity and diversity, "Americanism" versus minority group demands to preserve and reinforce their cultures through the schools, the challenge to expertise in contrast to egalitarian democratic decision-making values, and the existence of the school as an instru-

ment of national policy (post-Sputnik, manpower and integration concerns) versus the school as client centered (free schools, the progressive movement, the neighborhood school). Significantly reflecting larger societal forces, the reorganization issue has moved from amalgamation of small districts to decentralization and community control in larger districts.

We now know something about the political realities of all these issues, many of which only a decade ago were in the realms of unstudied practice and ideological dialogue.

In the politics of local education associations, leading issues include the balance of influence between school employees and the public (expertise versus lay control), school district reorganization, the clash of tax savings versus educational expansion ideologies, local educational association separatism and autonomy versus control by local governments and local politics, local district reorganization, use of the school to maximize the values of egalitarianism versus elitism, and change versus maintenance of the status quo.

The urban school district is a rather distinguishable arena in the politics of education. This distinction from the remaining local educational authorities is largely a function of two factors: the political separation of urban governance from the rest of the state and the relative permanence of urban educational political organizations. The vast body of special legislation applicable to a single city in many states supports the first point. The existence of full-time teacher organization staffs (and offices) and paid employees of citizen groups interested in schools in the urban centers testifies to the latter point.

The other local educational authorities operate with somewhat different patterns in their politics. They are characterized by less permanent structures, unless there is high stability in the composition of their population. Their formal, constitutional governance structures (school boards) are more easily reached, and the boards react more quickly and with less disruption of service to political action from the grassroots. They constitute a distinct arena in the politics of education. This arena is better known than the others, but nonetheless much more needs to be known. In the foreseeable future, even if its centrality to educational action declines, it will still be "where the action is" more than any other single arena of educational politics.

The state is the constitutional base for the politics of education and more. It is the place where interest groups solidify legislative gains. Sometimes this is permissive, sometimes prohibitive, and sometimes mandatory. The universal issues of lay versus professional influence, the establishment of the financial ground rules, the determination of the rules of the game for local educational authority politics, and the degree of separateness for the larger urban governance of education are determined in the state arenas. We know enough about the politics of education at this level to distinguish types of

states. We also know that states function, in their educational political modes, as screens or filters between federal policy and the schools. They shape and often distort the federal impact on schools. Again, we know enough to suggest some of what needs to be known but to date have some understanding of only ten to twelve states.

The federal arena exists largely because of federal impact on education through marginal funding of fiscal resources, information collecting/clearinghouse functions, and the charismatic effect of White House announcements on public attitudes (for example, a war on poverty or a halt on busing). Federal funding of education is generally so small a portion of the bill for local educational authority schools that it would have no significant impact except for the significance of marginal (extra or new) funds to shape local educational authority behavior; consequently, there are "laws" of federal educational politics. We have begun to grasp some of these laws, but we need to know much more about the interaction and effect of the federal politics of education on the other arenas. For now, we know enough to sort out the federal politics of education as a distinct subset in the politics of American education.

It would be a mistake to say that the federal arena is full of sound and fury signifying nothing in the politics of education. One is, however, tempted. Researchers are more aware of and have greater need to give attention to nationalizing forces and funds than most citizens. Two decades of effort in the areas of race, equality, and curricular revolution with more federal input than impact speak loudly enough for those who will listen. Schools today are more like schools of twenty years ago than they are like anything else. Major changes in them may be more honestly attributed to brute forces of demographic changes, changes in adolescent growth patterns, or economic and international social forces than to federal planning.

Federal programs that operate within present constitutional arrangements in the governance of education will reflect in their operations the dual sovereignty noted in chapters 3 through 6. Whether or not the realities implied in the American system of educational governance and politics are taken into account by those who plan such programs is their dilemma, but our problem. Federal programs that ignore such realities in their planning will more likely than not increase the legitimacy of law breaking by those who operate day-to-day in the schools.

Directions for Future Research

Future research in the politics of education should have as its goal the discovery of theory or explanation. Researchers must not despair because each of the cities, urban governments, states, and federal government agencies is unique. They should also resist the temptation to seek a single all-

encompassing theory of educational politics.

We have noted that the initial attempts to discover the parameters formed by the political subcultures of a given educational government appear helpful in explaining choices made by educational governments across a broad spectrum of different localities. Similarly, beginning attempts to identify laws of natural change in educational governments suggest another fruitful direction for future research. The development of taxonomies encompassing local, urban, and state systems holds great promise. For the immediate future, the library rather than the field offers the promise of economical returns: efforts should be concentrated on using empirical data already collected.

The central question Who governs? has been asked and answered enough to know that subsequent questions along these lines should be differently framed. The question, "Under what conditions, to what extent, and with regard to what sort of values do the organized school employee elites control most and least?" should command more attention in the future. Normative considerations, implicit in the question in much of the research to date, should become more explicit and function as guides to theory in future research on the politics of education. For this to happen, we need to ask, "What choices should which people participate in, at what levels of educational operations, in which arenas of government, and with what degree of universality or specificity of outcome?"

In order to answer such questions, several considerations should be investigated. Students of the politics of education have paid very little attention to the demands of the technological requirements for teaching/learning. Similarly, the research has tended to stop at the boundaries of the school organization—especially the building. A politics of education that ignores intraorganizational variables will never speak to the issues of pupil outcomes. It may be, and we believe it is, too early to forge such linkages at this time. But there is a need for research that moves toward that goal by linking the school's world of intraorganizational variables with the political context of school buildings.

Normative considerations about the nature of democratic institutions should help guide future theoretical development in this area. Again, attention needs to be given to the internal organization of the daily experiences of those who use schools, both adults and children. It seems that the educational institutions of a democracy should provide appropriate experiences as well as curricula and courses to facilitate the development of a democratic citizenry.

Even within the present domains of research we note the absence of studies that move across the range of federal, state, and local educational politics. Their relationships and interdependencies emerge piecemeal from present work. But there is a need for studies that trace policies from inception to

point of impact on targets intended or unanticipated. Such studies will have to trace their way through the labyrinth of educational governments and the transformation of multiple levels of decisions. Researchers who seek to travel such roads are unlikely to produce much unless they begin with decent taxonomies and theories. Indeed, the goal of such research at this time should probably be to produce better taxonomic frameworks and stronger theories, which, however, need to be held flexibly.

Developments in theory are needed for another type of study necessary for supplying the criteria implicit in the foregoing discussion. Comparative studies of two sorts are required. International comparative studies are needed if we are to examine a range of alternatives in the governance and organization of education. The variations among American educational governments are fewer than might be expected in a legally decentralized system. The standardizing effects of the extralegal forces, professional norms, federal policy, and nationalizing organizations have offset the diversity that might have otherwise existed. But comparative studies are likely to yield little unless they are carefully directed by strong theory and sharp concepts.

The second type of comparative studies are needed in the governance and politics of other public services (for example, health, welfare, and housing) to lift our understanding of educational politics above the parochialism too easily developed in concentrating on a separated governance system. The conceptual and theoretical requirements for successful comparative work are again demanding.

The preceding discussion leads us to suggest that the next steps in educational politics research should devote attention and energy to syntheses of the existing research. These investigations should be directed toward theory rather than toward immediate research designs for the next possible grant. The pursuit of theory for its own value by at least a few scholars in the politics of education is desirable. Case studies would probably offer useful help to the field if rich in narrative, but unless they are undertaken with the goal of producing theory and hypotheses for subsequent verificational studies, they will offer less than good journalism might.

The future will see an expansion of research in the politics of education. The times we live in are the surest evidence of that prediction. The problem focus that characterizes most of the research to date will continue. Social problem-generated research can be guided by theory and contribute to its development, but problem-generated research can be sterile if it is solution-centered at the same time.

To avoid the possibility that the next era in the politics of education might be sterile, we must develop theory between problem and solution and proceed from problem to solution with the time-consuming, careful thought needed for understanding.

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